FEBRUARY, 1924] [VOL. V. NO. 1

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

THAT the frontispiece of our present issue should be a portrait of His Holiness, the Patriarch Damianos, sent us—and we are gratified by the honour—by himself, will be agreed to be opportune. For one thing, as Anglicans will always remember, he was the first of all Orthodox chief bishops to reply to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's invitation to accept Anglican Ordinations. The late Dr. A. Fortescue used to quote him as having rejected them. That was a mistake founded on a misconception of a conversation, recorded in *Eirene* for March, 1908, between him and Bishop Blyth, in which he expressed himself as unable to accept them until the whole Orthodox Church did so. As a matter of fact, he has always been sympathetic to the Anglican Church and took profound pleasure last May in telegraphing to our Archbishop the favourable result of the year's consideration which his Synod had given to Meletios IV.'s Encyclical of August, 1922. That fact alone would make most Anglicans glad to familiarise themselves with his portrait. But there are many other reasons. Some of us hope to pay him our personal tribute when he receives the Anglican Pilgrims at the Church of the Anastasis in May this year. Others have watched with great concern the stand that he is making against the Vatican's attempt to encroach on that Guardianship of the Holy Places which the Zionitic Church has exercised since the days of Constantine the Great. And all have read with deep emotion the accounts of the celebration of his Patriarchal Jubilee last October and of the participation of our own Bishop in Jerusalem therein.

Like two of his recent predecessors, the Patriarchs Cyril and Hierotheos, Damianos Kasiotes is a native of Samos, where, though he was born, in 1848, a Turkish subject, he was not brought up under direct Turkish rule, the island having been autonomous under its own Christian Prince. After being educated at the Pythagorean Gymnasium, the principal high school of Samos, he became the

secretary of a local Court of Justice, and his life would probably have been spent in that or the like secular office but for the death of his wife and child a week after the latter's birth in 1871.

Always devout, and then only in his 23rd year, that tragic happening decided him to seek membership in the Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, where he was received in 1872. Ordained deacon, he spent three years in the hard and unceasing routine of the Fraternity and after a withdrawal through physical breakdown, returned in 1875 and was ordained priest. From 1875 till his election as Patriarch, he did much service to the Church of Zion. Made Archimandrite, he was sent to Georgia to represent the Patriarchate which has historic rights in that country, and there came into close contact with the leaders of Russian Church life. In 1887 he went to Constantinople in a similar capacity. In 1893 he was consecrated Archbishop of Philadelphia and was appointed Hegoumen of the Monastery of Bethlehem. With the earlier years of his Patriarchate, with the difficult Arabophone problem and the troubles which it engendered, with the part which he played during the War and with what has happened since, those who read the CHRISTIAN EAST regularly will be fairly familiar. Any *lacunæ* in their knowledge will be supplied by a study of Sir Anton Bertram and Commander Luke's extraordinarily interesting *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*. The presence of the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria, from whom the difficulties which occurred between 1906 and 1910 had estranged him, at his Jubilee Celebrations must have given this "Grand Old Man" of the Orthodox Hierarchy peculiar satisfaction. His brotherly relations not only with the Anglicans in Jerusalem but also with the Copts, Jacobites, Abyssinians and Armenians are symbolised by the photo we give as an inset. It was taken after the conjoint service in which he took part with them, reading the Gospel in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George, on Armistice Day.

Respected, revered and loved, may he live many years and see the realisation of his prayers for the Reunion of Christendom.

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Our old friend Archbishop Themelis of Trans-Jordania, whose visit to London, recorded in our November issue, was in connection with the Orthodox guardianship of the Holy Places, has published several brochures on the subject in Greek, and a memorandum in English, *The Rights of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem*. Those who call to mind his work for *Eirene* sixteen years ago will not need to be told that the latter is vigorous, incisive and lucid. Briefly, the case is that the monastic Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre was founded shortly after St. Helena, removing the statues of the heathen gods and goddesses from the traditional sites at Calvary and Bethlehem,

proved them to be the very spots, and with her son Constantine built churches upon them, for the care of which it came into being. From the first, the Fraternity was in effect the electing body of the Patriarch who was its President. Omar the Khalif, on his conquest of Jerusalem in 638, gave the then Patriarch Sophronios a covenant by which he and his successors were confirmed in their possession of the Holy Places for ever. That covenant has been honoured by all who have ruled in Jerusalem down to the present, except by the Crusaders who infringed on its spirit but did not for shame attempt to evict the Fraternity altogether. Saladin restored it and the Turks honoured it. Both Selim I., the first Sultan-Khalif, 1512-20, and Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-66 reasserted it in precise emphatic terms. Franciscans, indeed, who had been admitted by the Fraternity of its own action in the fifteenth century, attempted, under Ahmed I. (1603-17), to oust the Patriarch from Bethlehem, the Holy Sepulchre and other shrines, but, though they secured some of the minor privileges they had usurped, the Sultan himself intervened and reaffirmed the old charter of Omar. The Fraternity, which has never been selfish, but has welcomed all Christians, Copts, Armenians, Syrians as well as Latins, freely to the Holy Places, has thus been in possession of their guardianship so long as they have been known and venerated. It would be strange if the League of Nations should deprive them of their sixteen-centuries-old privilege and duty. The whole case is admirably set out in *Nea Zion*, for November last by the Archimandrite Kallistos and in *Apostolos Barnabas*, the Cyprus official periodical, for December by the Metropolitan of Nicæa, Basileios.

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THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.—We recognise gladly that things seem going better at Constantinople than we inclined to forecast. The Patriarchate, it is true, is still depressed and disorganised. Its flock is reduced to a fraction of what it was before the war. Much time must elapse, at best, before it can breathe freely enough to take an active interest in anything except the preservation of its own existence.

But sufficient for the day! The pressing question as to whether, if it remained at Constantinople, the Turks would allow the canonical and free election of a successor to Meletios IV. has been decided satisfactorily. The *Church Times*, always admirably informed—better orientated, indeed, than any other paper, European or American, in these matters—printed, on December 14th and 21st, excellent and detailed accounts of the election of His Holiness Gregory VII. to the Œcumenical throne on December 6th; of Papa Eftim's seizure of the Phanar on December 7th, and subsequent ejection; of the new Patriarch's enthronisation on December 12th. Incidentally, it also

gave a biographical sketch of His Holiness, which there is no need to produce here, except to say that, like M. Venizelos and Meletios IV., His Holiness is a Cretan of the family of Zerboudakes, that he is 68 years of age and had long been a Synodal, *i.e.*, one of the Metropolitans permanently attached to the Phanar, having been first a *protégé* and then a confidant of Gerasimos IV., the Œcumenical Patriarch of the war years. A pronounced phil-Anglican, he was never enthusiastic about the Entente and, while he supported Meletios IV., avoided extreme anti-Turk ebullitions. Thus he is acceptable to the sensible Turks, though the fact that the Angora Government had not accepted his election as late as January 31st, when we went to press, would point to the Kemalist dislike of him. Happily his election appears canonically unchallengeable. Every Metropolitan of the jurisdiction, including those in exile and those outside the new Turkey, nominated a Metropolitan by letter. The three of those so nominated with the most votes were voted upon by the Holy Synod, which elected His Holiness by 10 votes out of a possible 11, his own being probably unrecorded.

In another column we give the letter in which his All-Holiness announced his accession to our Archbishop. We never had any doubt upon the matter, but it is good to remark that there is not only no retrogression in it as to the relations of the Orthodox with ourselves, but that, if anything, it marks an advance. Thus Gregory VII. styles Dr. Davidson his "Brother"—a not insignificant fact in view of the interpretation placed on that mode of address by Meletios IV. in his Encyclical on Anglican Ordinations. Further, he goes out of his way to speak of Meletios IV. as his predecessor and thus recognises implicitly his Synodical acts, including, of course, his recognition of our Ordinations. Indeed, the letter, with its warm words about the Anglican Church, is of the type which would be addressed to the chief bishop of an Orthodox Church rather than to the head of a heterodox denomination such as our Farm Street friends say the Orthodox account us.

May his rule of the Great Church of Constantinople, begun in danger and threatening, stretch over many prosperous years and bring peace and security to his people! May it also see the long dream of Christian Reunion accomplished!

Jubilee of the Coptic Patriarch.

We doubt whether any Patriarch other than the present Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria has ever held his throne for fifty full years. Ismail was Khedive, and Tel-el-Kebir, with the consequent British occupation, was seven years away when the names were put in the urn, and his being drawn out by a little innocent lad under seven, Cyril V. became the successor of St. Mark for the Copts. Small wonder,

then, that his golden jubilee, which fell just after the silver jubilee of the Patriarch Damianos, was kept with great rejoicing throughout Egypt. There is some question as to His Holiness' exact age, but he is reputed to have been born in 1818. One of our editors who visited him in his own monastery in the Nitrine Valley, twenty long years ago, has a vivid impression of him as being then an old, old man—in one fashion. "I cannot forget," he writes, "my first sight of him Of scant stature, with a snow-white beard which covered his face altogether—except his sharp, piercing black eyes—he looked at me as if he pierced me through and through. It was eerie, almost uncanny, and I understood why the *fellaheen* Muslim, no less than Christians, regard him as supernatural. He struck me then as having outlived old age and as retaining every vigour of manhood, intellectual and physical, which he willed to retain. I spent many days as his guest, had much conversation with him, and found him marvellously perspicacious, clear in his judgments and decisive in his purpose. I am not surprised that he is the only Egyptian who ever *compelled* that strong dictator Lord Kitchener to go back upon his own *ultimatum*."

Bishop Gwynne, who is doing a great work for Christian Unity in Egypt, is well-beloved by the centenarian Coptic Patriarch. We wish that we had space to record the full debates of the important conferences to which he has been the main instrument of summoning the Greek, Coptic, Armenian and other clergy of Egypt.

The Pan-orthodox Conference.

Events have justified our anticipation that the unanimity necessary to effect the adoption of the Constantinople recommendations would not be found among the autokephalous Churches. When we made that forecast we knew, from personal conversation with him, that the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev regarded the Conference itself as anti-canonical and was alarmed at many of its recommendations as dangerous innovations. Since then he has published his views, endorsed by the Russian Synod of Karlowicz, the Patriarch of Jersualem has telegraphed the Phanar urging the withdrawal of the most important proposal, and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch have published reasoned and synodical refusals to have anything to do with the Conference. The least sharp of the three letters is that of the Patriarch Gregory, but it is trenchant enough. In it he says that the Antiochene Synod adjudges the Conference to have no authority because the Patriarch of Russia was not invited to it and its title to be a misnomer because four of the autokephalous Churches sent no representatives to it. In regard to its recommendations, he regards the change of the Kalendar as having been hastily conceived and inopportune and the proposal in

regard to the marriage of the clergy after ordination, their second marriage, etc., as being such as ought not to be envisaged except by an Œcumenical Council. In short, he makes it plain that he stands with the Patriarch Photios and the Metropolitan Anthony, and gives a plain warning that he would regard the adoption of the Constantinople Recommendations as in effect an act of schism.

This being the case, it may be as well that we should step out of our way to give its *quietus* to a rumour, which appears to have originated from a source neither Orthodox nor Anglican, that Meletios IV. held the Conference and framed its Recommendations to please us Anglicans. Never was a more malignant—or skilful—bit of baseless mischief-making engineered. Some of us would regret the adoption of certain of the Recommendations. Others would have been mildly satisfied at the adoption of certain of them. But none of us would have interfered in what is clearly not our business.

The Kalendar.

So far as we know, none of the particular Orthodox Churches have adopted the style—which, by the way, is *not* the Julian—proposed by the Conference. In London Christmas was kept, both by Russians and Greeks, on January 8th. The Athens Kalendar for 1924 is of the Old Style, and so are those of Bukharest and Belgrad. On the other hand, the States have adopted the Western Style, so that to the man in the street, *e.g.*, the Epiphany was observed this year on July 19th. Much confusion is the result. We are informed that the Patriarch Tikhon and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Baltic Succession States have given their people option to use either style.

The Holy Synod of Constantinople has issued a circular urging the other Churches to adopt the new style as from March 10, 1924. That, however, must not be taken as deciding anything. It has also addressed a letter to the League of Nations inviting its initiative in proposing a Kalendar which might be acceptable to the Roman Church.

The Church of Hellas.

Professor Alivisatos, who, by the way, recently published a most acute and sympathetic article on the Intention of the Anglican Eucharist in the Athens Metropolitical Quarterly *Theologia*, and who has promised us another on our Thirty-nine Articles for the Christian East, writes us that the changes adumbrated in our Athens Correspondent's letter are now *faits accomplis*. His authority is, of course, absolute, for he has been acting as secretary in the business. We tender our sincere congratulations to the Metropolitan of Athens and his compeers. They will make excellent use of the liberty which they have won.

Malines.

Our Orthodox friends need not be perturbed, in the least, by the conversations which distinguished Anglican Theologians have been holding at Malines with distinguished Roman Catholics, under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier and with the cognisance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is true that the utterances of the veteran and well-loved ex-President of the E.C.U., Lord Halifax, might lead the casual observer to imagine that the Anglican Church is willing to treat the Papal Claim to Supremacy, as *de jure divino*, as an open question. There need, however, be no anxiety. We are not of those who run with the hounds and hunt with the hare. Presently the Archbishop of Canterbury will tell us what has taken place. Then it will be found that Lord Halifax has been speaking only for himself and that his five eminent colleagues, with the immeasurably great majority of Anglicans of *every* type, are with the Orthodox in regarding the Papal Claims as baseless and with the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev in calling on the Roman Obedience to return to the Faith and Unity of the Church of the Œcumenical Councils.

Our Contributors.

There can be no need to tell our readers who Bishop Bury and Mgr Batiffol are. All English Churchmen know of the former's work and most have heard of the latter. The Rev. H. A. Boys was chaplain at Patras far away in the seventies and built the British Church there. Now, in retirement, as an ever young octogenarian, he is always busy in the Winchester Diocese, working for the good cause. Canon Browne is a veteran worker of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, whose praise should be in the Churches. Speaking of our contributors, we are reminded that Dr. Emhardt, whose invaluable report on his journeyings through the Near East in 1922 we printed recently, is now again in the lands of his and our hearts. He expects to be in London on his way home to U.S.A. about Easter.

The Secretary of A. & E.C.A.

The Rev. C. N. Smith has sailed to take up his post at the Cathedral, Georgetown, British Guiana, and the Rev. R. M. French is now getting into our saddle as his successor. The former had a fine send-off when he celebrated the Holy Mysteries on the eve of his voyage. He has served us well and our hearts go with him. As to the latter, he steps into his responsibility at a difficult moment, but he has deserved our confidence by his splendid past work and may rely on every backing that he could wish.

Our Bookshelf.

Our review tray is the most tantalising thing in the world. At the present, a good dozen of books of which we desire to publish our

estimate are lying waiting until our merciless contributors leave us space to do so. Meanwhile, we urge our readers to get Father Gavin's *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Thought* from Messrs. Mowbray. The price is 7s. 6d., a small sum for a work, the modest title of which conceals its value. In fact, it is just the book for which we have been longing, waiting and watching. In other words, it is a concise and admirable summary of the Orthodox Faith as it is expounded by modern Greek Theologians. It is not exhaustive in scope and it does not take Russian Theological Science into its purview. But it supplies the thing which we have needed greatly. It will no longer be necessary for the lecturer to inform his audience that there is no book of the kind in English.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

THE Metropolitan of Thyatira, who is both Exarch of Western Europe and Apokrisarios, i.e. legate, to Lambeth for the Œcumenical Patriarchate, delivered the appended letter, wherein the Œcumenical Patriarch announces his election to the Œcumenical Throne, personally to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 18. We give also the reply of his Grace and the translation made by the Metropolitan himself. Reference to the correspondence will be found in this number's Chronicle and Causerie.

FROM THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Σεβασμιώτατε Ἀρχιεπίσκοπε Καντουαρίας καὶ Πρωθιεράρχα πάσης Ἀγγλίας, ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ λιαν ἡμῖν ἀγαπητὲ καὶ περισπούδαστε ἀδελφὲ κύριε Ράνδαλλ, χάρις εἴη τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ Σεβασμιότητι καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς ἀγάπης συνεχίζοντες τοὺς οὕτως αἰσίως ἀφ' ἑκανοῦ τῇ εὐλογίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μεταξὺ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πρὸς κοινὴν χαρὰν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀποκατασταθέντας, ἄσμενοι προαγόμεθα ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ γερασμίᾳ Σεβασμιότητι τὴν ἅρτι γενομένην διὰ κανονικῶν ψήφων τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεραρχίας ἀνάρρησιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν Ἁγιώτατον Πατριαρχικὸν Οἰκουμενικὸν Θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εἰς διαδοχὴν τοῦ διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀποχωρήσαντος καὶ παραιτηθέντος παναγιωτάτου προκατόχου ἡμῶν κυρίου κυρίου Μελετίου.

Τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ δυνηθῆναι ἡμᾶς αἰσίως πληρῶσαι τὴν ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἡμῖν βαρεῖαν ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις τούτοις καιροῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ ἐντολήν, διαβεβαιούμεθα τὴν Ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμέσων ἀναγκῶν φρόντισι μέλημα οὐχ ἧττον ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἔξομεν πάντοτε μετὰ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεραρχίας πᾶσῃ τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν σπουδῇ περιέπειν καὶ προάγειν τὰς ἀγαθὰς σχέσεις τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐπικοινωνίας πρὸς πάσας τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ποτὲ εἰκότως καὶ ἡ Χριστοπαράγγελτος πλήρης ἑνότης, κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόθον

καὶ ἐλπίδα, δύναται προελθεῖν. Ἰδιαιτέρως ποθοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα ὅπως ἀπαραμείωτοι παραμείνωσι καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναπτυχθῶσιν οἱ δεσμοὶ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς τιμῆς πρὸς τὴν Ὑμετέραν γερασμίαν Σεβασμιότητα καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι Ἁγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὧν ἡ εἰλικρινὴς συμπάθεια πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς δοκιμασίας ἡμῶν βαθέως συνεκίνησε καὶ παραμυθεῖ καὶ ἐνισχύει ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Χριστιανικοῦ λαοῦ.

Ὁ κύριος ἐπιδαψιλεύοι τὴν χάριν Αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογίαν παντὶ τῷ αὐτόθι Χριστιανικῷ πληρώματι, τὴν δὲ Ὑμετέραν περισπουδαστὸν Σεβασμιότητα εὐλογοῖ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι κατ' ἄμφω διηνεκῶς ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

Μετ' ἀγάπης ἀδελφικῆς, 1923. Δεκεμβρίου κά.

Τῆς Ὑμετέρας γερασμίας Σεβασμιότητος,
ἀγαπητὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅλως πρόθυμος

† Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ.

FROM THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, our well-beloved and dear Brother in Christ our God, Mgr. Randall, grace be to your Lordship and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pursuing the bonds of love which for some time have been so auspiciously restored by the blessing of the Lord between our people and yours, to our common joy and hope, it is with much pleasure that we take the initiative of announcing to your venerable Grace our recent accession by the canonical votes of our Hierarchy to the Most Holy Œcumenical Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople in succession to His Holiness our predecessor, Mgr. Meletios, who has, owing to the force of circumstances, retired and resigned.

Placing our hopes in the God of patience and of comfort that we shall be enabled propitiously to execute the weighty mandate entrusted to us for the welfare of our Church and our Christian people in these most difficult times, we assure Your Grace that, both in our tribulation and our over-powering cares for immediate needs, we shall at all times consider it no less our holy duty, together with our Hierarchy, to watch over, and to forward with all zeal on our part, the good relations of friendship and intercourse with all the Churches of Christ from which it is likely that the full unity commanded by Christ may some day come, in accordance with our common longing and hope.

Especially do we long, and are much concerned, that the bonds of love and of esteem towards your venerable Grace and your Holy Church may remain unimpaired and be strengthened still more. For your unfeigned sympathy in our many trials has deeply moved us and is to us and to our Christian people a source of comfort and of strength.

The Lord make His Grace and Blessing to abound towards your Christian flock, and bless your dear Grace in health and strength, both of body and soul, unceasingly in abundance of good works.

With brotherly love,

Your venerable Grace's beloved Brother in Christ and wholly devoted

December 21, 1923. (Signed) GREGORIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS.

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 1.

MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER, January 19, 1924.

Your Holiness will need no assurance from me of the welcome which I gave to the letter which you have sent me announcing the accession of Your Holiness by the Canonical Vote of the Hierarchy to the Œcumenical Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople. The letter has now been placed in my hands by Your Holiness's representative in this country, Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira.

It has fallen to Your Holiness, in the providence of Almighty God, to take your place in that great seat of authority and influence at a time of wide disturbance and anxiety within and around the regions wherein the jurisdiction of Your Holiness extends. The greater, therefore, is the need and the obligation resting upon us all of earnest prayer that Your Holiness may be enabled to fulfil aright the high responsibilities which are yours for the promotion of the welfare of the Church over which you preside and of all Christian people with whom you have to do. May the privilege be granted to Your Holiness of finding that the influence which you are enabled to exercise conduces to the pacification of strife and to the healing of the wounds inflicted both upon Christians and non Christians by the tragic events of recent years.

Your Holiness will accept my assurance of the happiness with which I read the fraternal words in which you undertake to watch over, and to forward with all zeal, the good relations of friendship and intercourse with all the Churches of Christ, and to secure unimpaired the bonds of love and esteem which unite your Church with our own. We have, indeed, wept with those who weep in the troubles of these distressing days. May it be ours also to rejoice with you when you are enabled to rejoice in the restoration of peace and goodwill. We daily pray to the God and Father of us all that, through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, abundant grace and blessing may be vouchsafed to Your Holiness and to your flock.

Assuring Your Holiness of our fraternal love,

I have the honour to remain,

Your faithful Brother and Servant in our Lord Jesus Christ.

(Signed) RANDALL CANTUAR.

To His Holiness,
The Œcumenical Patriarch,
The Lord Gregorios VII.

The telegrams appended were also exchanged between Lambeth and the Phanar at Christmas.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Μετ' ἐγκαρδίων ἀδελφικῶν εὐχῶν συγχαίροντες ἀσπαζόμεθα Ὑμετέραν ἀγαπητὴν σεβασμιότητα ἐπὶ ἑορτῇ γενήσεως Σωτῆρος. Αὐτὸς δωρείτω εὐσεβεῖ πληρώματι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀγγλίας πᾶν ἀγαθόν.

Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης

Γρηγόριος.

(*Translation.*)

With heartfelt brotherly prayers and sharing your joy, we greet your beloved Grace on the Feast of the Saviour's Birth. May He bestow every good gift on the devout clergy and laity of the Church of England.

THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH GREGORY.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I have had the high pleasure of receiving from you a message of Christmas greeting, and I desire to assure you how warmly I reciprocate the good wishes which Your Holiness is kind enough to express.

In all parts of the world we are living at a time of anxiety and difficulty, but it is in anxious days that we have special need of the presence and guidance of the Church's Divine Lord and the right to expect that such help will be given to us.

That Your Holiness may have every blessing during the year which has just begun is the earnest prayer of

Your faithful Brother and Servant in Our Lord Jesus Christ,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

BISHOP BURY IN MOSCOW.

This extraordinarily interesting and important account of his visit to Moscow, was written by the Right Rev. Herbert Bury, D.D., Bishop of North and Central Europe, for his Diocesan Magazine, the Anglican Church Magazine, and is placed at our disposal by his Lordship's kindness.

IT seems so strange now, while going down the Adriatic under a blue sky, to realise that I have actually been in Russia once more, that, as I said when writing to a correspondent a few days ago, "I can almost think it was a kind of second self who went there and had those wonderful and unexpected experiences." And I feel almost hopeless as I try to give some adequate account of them in such limited space as the Magazine can grant me. The Visit came upon me with almost startling suddenness, as I had not the remotest thought of such a possibility when talking to Mr. and Mrs. North at Helsingfors of the Moscow they know so well, or with the Archbishop of Riga—or rather Archbishop John of Riga—of the Patriarch whose pupil and adherent he was in other and happier days. It was the Consul at Moscow, whom I met at Danzig, who appealed to me to go and see them and give them services, and a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury which reached me 3 days later in Berlin, which made me say to myself "Why should I not try? I can but fail, and if I succeed — !"

I will not dwell upon the steps taken to secure permission to enter Russia, but will content myself with saying that in a fortnight's time —usually they require three months' notice—the visa was promised, and a telegram just caught me in time at Vienna, as I was about to start for Naples, Brindisi and Rome. All arrangements were, of course, at once cancelled. I set out within a few hours for Warsaw, where M. Obelenski, the Soviet Government's Minister, gave me both a Diplomatic Visa and a *laisser passer*; and, with another from the Polish Government, I set forth with every document that an Ambassador would have had and with a hearty send-off from Sir William Maxmüller, our Minister for Poland, taking a good supply of food, soap, towels, etc., which Lady Maxmüller kindly supplied, as all ordinary necessaries for the journey have to be found by the travellers themselves. Some prefer to take their own bedding, but the Russian authorities supply what is really needed, though the loan has, of course, to be paid for. The journey is not unattended with danger, as our British Courier, who leaves Warsaw every Tuesday night, had the misfortune a little while ago to be in a train, which was held up by bandits soon after leaving the Polish frontier and all the 1st class passengers were robbed. The poor man was completely plundered, even of his collar.

I was more fortunate, probably because soldiers with fixed bayonets are in every carriage, and I was agreeably surprised to find every one on the journey—porters, conductors, ticket collectors, passport men, *douaniers* and fellow-passengers—as friendly and good-natured as they could be. My porter at the Polish frontier put me and my bags in the Russian train, went and took my ticket, helped himself to his own tip, all from a vast heap of Russian roubles which I had got at the Exchange office in return for a few pounds sterling, and commended me to the youthful conductor, who looked much more—no railway uniforms are worn—as if he were going to a football match than taking a sleeping car to Russia. He then asked for the price of the sleeping berth, later for the extra charge for the "rapide" train, then for the hire and washing of the "linge" and finally for his own tip, and all went from the same heap which, of course, had almost vanished when we arrived in Moscow.

It was Sunday afternoon when the train drew in and it was immediately boarded by two young and alert Englishmen from the Mission, and with a real "thrill" I found myself in a car with the Union Jack fluttering in front, driving through familiar streets and drawing up at the Mission with a large British flag waving from the top of a mast in the garden. What an arrival that was, and how warmly I greeted them all, and what an Evensong we had at 6 o'clock with about twenty present out of the, at most, thirty who are scattered about in the Russian Capital! The Mission is more like a legation than a consulate and has very nearly twenty members on its staff, and within its walls contains in all 35 people. The butler, who valeted me, was body-servant to the late Emperor of Russia until he was taken from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg to die, when the family were finally separated from their faithful servants. I was sure when I saw him that he was the servant who, dressed like an English butler, ushered me into the Emperor's study the first time I had an audience with him at Tsarskoe Selo in 1911, but he, of course, could not remember, as he was showing people in, one after another, all day long; it was nearly thirteen years ago.

The next day, the 5th, Mr. Hodgson took me to leave cards at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as they had been so courteous to me, upon M. Chicherin, the Secretary, and M. Litvinoff, the Under-Secretary, both of whom knew London and England well, and in other days had been very happy to be there. M. Litvinoff returned my call before I left; but I was out, and so I did not meet any of the Members of the Government while there.

On the Tuesday I went out, by arrangement, to call upon the Patriarch and give him my own greetings and the messages of sympathy and goodwill of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and, through the Archbishop, the greetings of friendliness,

solicitude and goodwill of the whole Church of England. He received me in one of two small rooms in which he lives in the little gatehouse of the Donskoi Monastery, about half an hour's drive from the Mission, but within the city. I had an admirable interpreter, but the Patriarch was rather pensive and sad, while he talked freely; but now and then he looked up with a whimsical smile as he made a little joke at the expense of the "New Church" as it is called. There was no malice in what he said, he is too gentle and truly Christian for that, but just a bit of irresistible fun. He was most grateful for the sympathy of England and for all the help sent to his clergy, for the intervention of the British Government which, as the whole Russian Church, in Russia, Latvia, Poland and elsewhere, knows, saved his life, and for the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury. We had quite a long interview—I could hardly realise that I was at last talking confidentially and affectionately with this modern Confessor who has done so much for all Christendom, and he gave me his latest photograph, and signed it, and invited me to come in my robes to a service he was to take on the Thursday in the great Uspensky church in honour of St. Michael's Day. "You will wear your mitre," he said, and then he laughed merrily as he opened and closed his outspread hands to show that he understood it to be collapsible, their own wonderful golden crowns, studded with gems, being very rigid and requiring quite large boxes to hold them. With the three embraces with which he had welcomed, he saw me off again, and I felt sad as he turned into his small room which he must find very inconvenient. His small bedroom, which is his oratory also, opens out of it. Would that he were more worthily lodged! I don't understand why the Government do not grant him a suitable abode, as they give him such comparatively full liberty, for, though it is said that he lives in the Donskoi Monastery, which is a very beautiful place indeed, with a large garden, it is no more true than if I were to say I was living in some English historic mansion when I was only living in two rooms in the lodge at the gates. Below, told of my visit, but outside, I found Bishop Platon of Moscow, the Bishop of Tula, the Bishop of Nijni Novgorod, and a priest or two. I had a very friendly conversation with them before I left. Next day was the first anniversary of the setting up of the Soviet Government, a public holiday. There were processions, and reviews, and banners, and decorations, and bands, the Red Flag everywhere! I wanted to see something of what went on, but could not go to the official stand to see the March Past, lest it should be reported; and Orthodox clergy and laity feel hurt at what might seem almost sanctioning and approving the government's actions both in Church and State. As I recall it, however, I feel it will be best for me to say nothing of what I thought myself of the day's observances, as it would

ill become me to attack them and their methods as soon as I am out of the country, when I was glad enough to ask and obtain their permission to enter it. I was much impressed once more with the good nature and friendliness of the Russian people, for I never saw any rude pushing, or taking advantage, in the largest crowds, and the Red Guards were particularly kind to all the people they had to hold back, and chaffed and made jokes with them continually and were chaffed merrily in return. The same afternoon at the Diplomatic Reception, Mr. Hodgson asked M. Litvinoff if he saw any objection to my attending the Patriarch's Service next day, but he said at once "None whatever. I should think it would be a very good thing."

The next day, accordingly, I went to the Liturgy for St. Michael's Day, but the whole service was so interesting and the attendant circumstances so remarkable and impressive that I feel they really demand a separate little article, and so I will write it and send it with these notes, and if the Editor thinks well he can print it in January or hold it over until the February number. I do not yet know what awaits me in Egypt, what I shall have to report—perhaps nothing—from the New Tomb.

In the evening I went to the opera and sat spell-bound, not only by the beauty of Tschaikowsky's music, given by a large and magnificent orchestra and the attractiveness of "Eugene Onegin" which I had not seen before, but by the fact that it is a play showing country life in a wealthy landowner's mansion, with deferential servants and happy, rejoicing peasants, a girl saying prayers in her bedroom before an ikon and its red light. Evening parties, with lovely frocks and dainty dancers, a reception at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg, with ladies wearing jewels, diplomats their sparkling orders and uniforms, and everything that was most beautiful in old and Imperial Russia, *could all be given now* before an audience, large and attentive, who must, it seemed to me, be saying to themselves "How lovely life was then, even for peasants, servants and workmen. How much we have lost that gave charm, refinement, interest and zest to life for all classes, and which we shall never have again!"

Sunday, the 11th, was Armistice Day, and we made the most of it. We had hoped on my arrival that we might have one service at least in our own beautiful church of St. Andrew's, but a visit to it on the Friday soon showed me that this was quite impossible. The parsonage, church and many buildings connected with it are leased to the Finnish Legation and the minister has had to use the church as a storing place for all our property, which he has had to remove so as to be able to establish his Legation with their own furniture and other belongings. They regard themselves, he told me, as trustees for the Church of England, ready to give an account of their

stewardship when the time comes. We could not be more fortunate than in having them in possession, for they will take great care of things and execute repairs, while we, as a community there, could not possibly pay the expense of lighting and heating, nor meet the cost of a chaplain, even if one could be got when there is so little for him to do.

We had, therefore, our Armistice Day services at the Mission and were twenty-three at the Celebration, thirty-five at Matins and Sermon and twenty-five at Evensong. Mr. Hodgson wondered where they all came from at 11 o'clock. The services were a great joy to them all, and as the Mission has a great central hall, as well as the drawing-room in which we had our services, they could chat together and compare notes as they sat in warmth and comfort both before and after services. An ikon of our Lord instituting the Holy Communion, with the two lights, furnished our temporary altar, and Mr. Carpenter sent up a chalice, paten and a little linen from Warsaw, for everything of the kind had been looted from our church and the organ ruined in searching for anything that might be concealed there. We had but few hymn-books and so I had to read out each verse from well-known hymns, "O God our help," and "O God of Jacob," at 11.0, and "Nearer, my God, to thee," and "Lead, kindly Light," by particular request, at 6.30. It was like a service in the early days of Faith "for I soon began to realise that we were in a kind of beleaguered fortress with the doors shut," and everyone there knew something, some a great deal, of the darker side of life. There was a very old lady at the Celebration, who had come far, and her Russian son-in-law was with her; his wife, her daughter, had been nearly three months in prison and then died, and he, being Orthodox, had brought his children, that they might see their grandmother make her Communion in her own church. The beautiful house in which we had our services and for which a high rent is paid to the Government, was built and lavishly furnished—I slept in the former billiard-room—by a wealthy sugar merchant who had himself died of starvation. It was with these suggestive surroundings that we worshipped on our great day of Remembrance, and expressed, still humbly and thankfully, our faith and trust in God!

On Monday I went out again to the Donskoi to say good-bye to the Patriarch, but alas, he was confined to his bed and forbidden to see any one at all for some days. Bishop Hilarion, who is, I believe, his "Alter Ego" and most trusted friend, and who is one of the most charming Orthodox dignitaries I have yet met, told me this, and expressed his great regret that the Patriarch could not express, himself, what they all felt about my visit, and how it had comforted and encouraged them all by the assurance it had brought them of the full and loving sympathy of the Church of England.

I assured him that all our Christian people, speaking generally, of course, though not members of our own Church, were full of just the same solicitous sympathy with the Christian people of Russia.

I must not take up more time of speaking of the many interesting experiences I had in Moscow, the people I saw, Russian priests and laity coming to the Mission, and other guests, and the many impressions I received. It was with a very full and thankful heart that I left after my ten days visit, returning to Warsaw to give them the usual Confirmation, Sunday services, and address at the Reception, of which I have asked the chaplain to give some little account himself in this Magazine.

I went out on my first day to call upon Archbishop Dionysius, the Metropolitan of Poland, who was formerly Bishop of Volhynia, also in Poland, and at one time Embassy Chaplain at Rome under Prince Dolgorouki. He was a most experienced prelate and evidently very devout and sincere, and my heart warmed towards him as I saw the gratitude in his sparkling eyes as I told him of the Patriarch and our service together—of which he had already read in a religious paper they keep going outside Russia to give as much information about their Church as they can obtain from different and numerous sources, some reliable and some not. He returned my call at the Legation on the following day, gave me his photograph and a letter for the Patriarch, which I sent on, and again expressed to me the gratitude his whole Church felt to our Archbishop and Church, and to the British Minister, Sir William Maxmüller the gratitude they all felt for that intervention at the critical moment, by which the British Government saved the Patriarch's life. He told me with great thankfulness that the Russian Church has the greatest kindness and assistance in its religious work shown by the Polish Government, and it is in this strongly Roman Catholic country that at this time there is the one green spot, or oasis in the desert of persecution where the unfortunate Russians can breathe and worship God freely.

I left Warsaw for Vienna on the 19th and Vienna for Trieste, meeting a heavy snowstorm which made me fear our train would have to be dug out if I was to catch my boat, and finally sailed safely on the 23rd, as arranged. I have the most grateful recollections of Legations and Embassies in Europe, but *cherish* feelings of the deepest, even affectionate, gratitude to Sir William Maxmüller at Warsaw, and Mr. Akers Douglas at Vienna for their very, very great kindness, hospitality and assistance as I went to and returned from Russia.

PATRIARCH'S LITURGY.

ON November 8th, S. Michael's Day in Russia, New Style, I set out, fully robed, from the Mission in Mr. Hodgson's car with its Union Jack at the front, and, accompanied by an English friend, born in Russia, to act as my interpreter when necessary, I arrived soon after ten o'clock at the Church. Here the Patriarch's representative received me, and gave me the Patriarch's greeting and welcome. An alert and refined-looking young Russian came forward and introduced himself as my interpreter, while the large crowd filling the entrance to the Church looked eagerly on, and murmured their approval.

The service had already begun and the Patriarch was standing in his beautiful vestments of cloth of gold and two other Bishops robed in the same rich garments with him. Many other priests and the deacon stood round about the dais which was, as usual, placed in the middle of the church. and a very carefully trained choir was singing the accustomed responses, with the constantly repeated "Gospodi pomilui (Lord have mercy)," so familiar to all lovers of Russia and its Church. I went up the right aisle with my companion, took my place in the space just outside the great screen, and glanced round upon an immense congregation, before giving my attention to the service in a little book in English which had been thoughtfully provided for me. It was a very moving and appealing sight as I gazed down the Church, and the most moving and touching part of it was that his venerable face appeared blanched in its paleness, as with rapt expression he looked fixedly straight through the open central door of the screen to the altar, which had large vases of fresh white chrysanthemums upon it, the seven-branched candlestick resting behind and above, the jewelled copy of the gospels standing, as usual, on end, and a large painting of our Lord upon the Cross at the back of the sacrarium. I have not seen fresh flowers upon a Russian altar before, but they were in other places also and even bound at the top of the Patriarch's Staff with which he blessed the people. He wore nothing distinctive in his vestments as Patriarch, but was constantly prayed for during the service, being as frequently mentioned, I thought, as the Emperor and Imperial family used to be.

At the end of about half an hour, he and all the other Bishops and clergy with him moved up the church and entering the screen took their places before and about the altar and I also entered at the same time and took my place, as directed, on his right.

The service was especially beautiful and most reverently given and though it always appears to me to be unduly long—lasting nearly three hours, it was quite evidently not too long for any of those who

were taking part in it. The Choir without sang very sweetly, though I missed boys' voices, as they are no longer allowed to be taught religion under 18, nor to be trained, and the Deacon intoned the prayers assigned to him in his deep rich bass, crossed himself constantly with the end of his long stole worn from the left shoulder, the processions within and without took place, carrying the Gospels outside and then the oblations of bread and wine placed upon the head of him who bears them, the Patriarch moving to and fro, and for the first time giving me the impression of frail old age, though he is only 58, and reverence, piety, devotion, faith and resignation—I was not conscious of hope; alas !—made one feel in an atmosphere of the deepest spirituality. There is no doubt in my mind that the sense of sorrow and suffering does bring one very near to God in prayer and worship.

One of the most beautiful parts of the Liturgy to me, more appealing I find even than the Consecration itself, is just before it, when the Celebrant kneels or sometimes almost prostrates himself, and the other officiants take up the silken chalice veil and, holding it by the four corners, wave it gently up and down above the chalice to typify the descent of the Holy Spirit to bless the sacred elements and make them sacramental, while the Choir outside sing the Nicene Creed. On this occasion it was sung very clearly by a beautiful soprano voice in a melodious kind of recitative, while the Choir gave a rich kind of accompaniment, which sounded almost like an organ softly and skilfully played by a master hand. When I think of the Patriarch now at prayer or worship, I always seem to see him, bent and feeble with bowed head apparently "caught up into heaven," in absorbed supplication, at that particular part of the Divine Service.

All present (and there were very many) received Communion, and in both kinds, but standing, and without words of administration. Some, having received the bread, walked away and looked steadily and contemplatively at it in the open palm, before partaking, and all wiped the lip of the chalice after receiving and then kissed it.

I was asked, as usual, to share the Patriarch's ceremonial breaking his fast, and partake of a little warm wine and water, and eat a morsel of bread brought to me by one of the servers. The little loaf—shaped like what we call a "cottage loaf"—was then brought me, as my own, to bring away. This represents to me now and always my specially personal part in the Service. The loaf has religious emblems upon the top of it and a small bit has been taken out by the point of a knife to be consecrated with the other bread, and then, when offered, my intention was offered with it, what was in my mind and heart and soul as desired from God was thus offered with the

Patriarch's own intercessions. This always seems to me a very beautiful custom in the Russian Church, bringing one, when devoutly worshipping with them and not yet admitted to communion, into the very heart of the Service. I shall therefore always treasure it as having sacred associations for me under the Patriarch in his sore and anxious travail.

After the administration the Chief Episcopal Assistant went outside and delivered a short address or sermon, while the service was brought to an end behind the doors, which, closed just before the Consecration, were not reopened until all was over. At the conclusion the Patriarch kissed every single person in the Sanctuary, including the servers, one of whom was a very small boy. The Bishops and Clergy then came to me also, and when the servers looked wistfully expectant, I, too, kissed every one of them including the small boy, and all looking as pleased as I felt.

It was as I am so often reminded in Russia, a page out of the Acts of the Apostles when they were bidden to greet one another with a holy kiss. "It would probably not seem to be at all in place at the close of an English service, but it is so different in Russia," when the seven-branched candlestick and the holy place, and the large square altar remind one constantly that their Church carefully "keeps the traditions." Then the lay authorities of the great Church, members of its Council, including the father of my young interpreter, came in to be presented to me, and to express their deep gratitude for my coming to assist at the Service. They were well dressed, refined and well educated men and I was rejoiced to see them. They were anxious I should write down my messages from our Archbishop, and anything else which might be in my heart, and I gladly did so, though it had to be in pencil—they said they would go over it with pen and ink and carefully keep it—and expressed my real "Christian joy" in being able to worship with them that St. Michael's Day and to have, what St. Paul called in his Epistle to the Philippians, "Fellowship in the Gospel" with them all.

The Patriarch had now and then turned an approving eye upon our proceedings as he concluded the Service, and then began slowly to unvest and at length stood a very attenuated-looking figure in a dark-blue velvet cassock and girdle. He was then robed again in that round white cap, with which we are so familiar, and which has a winged cherub in front and a cross of diamonds above it, and a large flowing veil descending from it about his shoulders. A very rich robe, worn by the last Patriarch, of blue, with rich bars of many colours across it in a slanting direction, was next put upon him, and after saying good-bye to me he passed out to the front, then to give a personal blessing to all who wished to have it. He would be a long time there I felt very sure.

I left at the same time, but passed slowly on, and so could only very inadequately respond to those who sought "the English Bishop's blessing." I stretched out both hands as I went along and both were brought into service, but one or two old peasant women looked depreciatively at the left and pressed on with determination until they could have the right hand. I have never had such an experience, though at Riga they were more demonstrative in what they said and shouted; and it continued down the entire length of the great church, down the many steps at the door and all the way to the car, and even when seated in it, and when moving slowly away. The Consul told me that he heard two Jews when they saw the large crowd say "What is this? A funeral, I suppose," and the crowd said, "It's no funeral to-day. There's an English bishop in there, and he is coming out soon to bless us all." They moved hastily off to the great disappointment of the Consul, who said, "I should like to have heard what they said when you came out."

The Patriarch sent me a modern ikon of a guardian angel, and another of the famous Patriarch Tikhon, of other days, who is now his patron saint, for the Archbishop of Canterbury. The clergy and laity of Moscow sent me two most valuable ikons, one of our Lord, of the sixteenth century, and the other of St. Nicholas, of the seventeenth century, adding also a modern one of our Lord. I sent word to them by their messenger that I should deeply value, but could not regard, them as purely personal, but representative, and that I should at once direct that they should go to my successors, with the Patriarch's ikon also, and be a link, I hoped, in happier days between the Russian Church and the Bishops of Northern Europe.

THE POSITION OF HIS HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH TIKHON AND OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN RUSSIA AFTER LIBERATION FROM PRISON.

Translated from "Tserkovniye Vedemoste," the official organ of the Acting Holy Synod of Russia in Belgrad, of October 15/28, 1923.

ON his release from confinement, as is admitted by the Moscow Pravda in an article entitled, "The End of a Hideous Comedy," at the demand, delivered to Krassin by Lord Curzon, of England, his Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon proceeded from his gaol to the Donskoy Monastery, assigned him as a residence, and assumed the government of the Church, appointing as governor of things spiritual in Moscow and its district, Bishop Ilarion, to whom he gave authority to receive penitent recusants.

Practically the whole of the (Moscow) clergy is now obedient to their rule. The laity reverence Bishop Ilarion for his preaching, his loyalty to the Patriarch and his vigour of action. His Holiness organised round himself a Holy Synod in the persons of the Metropolitan Seraphim and Bishop Ilarion. By means of the revival of church

services the religious attitude of the proletariat was improved decisively and quickly. The churches in which the Patriarch ministered were altogether insufficient to accommodate the people who wished to take part in the services. In his utterances the Patriarch declared persistently that the Church ought not to be entangled in politics under even the worst circumstances. He forbids the clergy to take any part whatever in the political life of the country, and insists that every priest should devote himself to the service of God and should withdraw from worldly life. In regard to the Church itself, the Patriarch Tikhon denounced any reforms whatever which are contrary to the canons or the laws of the Church. He has repudiated altogether the Living Church and the various sections which have sprung up recently in the Orthodox Church. The Patriarch's utterances produced the greatest impression upon the faithful and in a short time many of the larger parishes in Moscow which had been reckoned nests of the Living Church approached him penitently and asked for his recognition of their presiding priests. When the Patriarch passes there is a general kneeling in the streets. It is remarkable that his movements are willingly guarded by militia from members of the Living Church. Where the Patriarch celebrates there are always many working people and red soldiers.

The Soviet authorities had not anticipated that the great mass of the people would so receive the Patriarch after his sub-mission to Soviet authority. The Bolsheviks, who follow the religious attitude of the proletariat attentively, are beginning to regard the influence of the Patriarch as not to be laughed at and there is talk again of bringing him to trial for his past counter-revolutionary activity. The leaders of the Living Church and the former Procurator of the Synod, M. Lvoff, are energetic to that end.

By order of the Patriarch all churches in which divine service is rendered by representatives of the living Church are under interdict. In many Moscow churches a proclamation is hung by the Church Council's order, " This church is in canonical subjection to the Metropolitan of Moscow, the Holy Patriarch of All Russia, Tikhon." A meeting of laymen was convened in a chapel of the Troitsky Monastery at Moscow by the Living Church to decide the question of the establishment of the synodical principle in the Church and the elimination of the Patriarch. None of the Living Churchmen, however, could speak two words, for the laymen whom they had convened showed themselves intense partisans of the Patriarch, and by shouting and cries made it impossible for them to gain attention. After the dissolution of the meeting all the laymen proceeded to the Donskoi Monastery to obtain a blessing from the Patriarch. The ecclesiastical strife between the supporters of the patriarch and the Living Church assumes a continually fiercer form. A meeting convened in the Church of Christ the Saviour by the Living Churchmen ended as the thrashing of the " Protopresbyter of all Russia,"V. D. Krasnitsky. The thrashing was only stopped by the intervention of the military. Krasnitsky was carried in a half conscious condition from the church.

It is reported in Moscow that the Patriarch Tikhon is occupied at the present time with the project of convening a local Synod for the re-assertion of the Russian Orthodox Church and the condemnation of the Living Church. It is asserted that at that Synod the Patriarch will resign his dignity and place the election of his successor in its hands. General consent designates as that successor Bishop Theodore, who is possessed of the greatest popularity, and is known for his unswerving opposition to the Living Church and fearlessness towards the Bolsheviks. From Moscow the best intelligence states that His Holiness daily ministers in the churches of the city, and that there is a full programme arranged for him up to December. The people meet the Patriarch everywhere with indescribable enthusiasm, and throw flowers before him. On his entrance into a church, the clergy ask him, kneeling, with sobs for his forgiveness for having taken the side of the Living Church through stress of necessity and fear of the Jews. Then Bishop Ilarion sprinkles the Church with Holy Water and the

service begins—a Liturgy or Vespers. The first Liturgy of the Patriarch Tikhon in the Donskoi monastery was an extraordinary solemnity. The crowd in and outside the church numbered 10,000. The Sanctuary was filled with clergy; representatives of the British, American and Polish Missions were present . . . The Patriarch Tikhon goes to his services to-day with great dignity. The great Patriarchal Cross is carried in one carriage in front of him, he himself goes in a second. It may be said, indeed, that Orthodoxy is resurgent in Moscow and is full of vigour. The Living Church meets with no success, but practically all the parish churches have acceded to the Patriarch.

While the Living Churchmen retain only three churches in Moscow, they have, however, 123 in Petrograd, where the Patriarch has 40. . That fact is explained by there being no canonical archbishop in Petrograd. Artemie, the Living Church Archbishop there, is said to be panic-stricken.

In Juroslav the Living Church is disappearing rapidly. In Vladimir the whole population flocks to the priest Gregory of the Balaam monastery. His Holiness Tikhon is in good health. The reports about his illness are lies. He is still in the Donskoi, but has asked for more convenient accommodation. The Bolshevik "Higher Church Ministry" is idle. From morning to night deputations from all parts of Russia wait on the Patriarch. But it must be remarked that in the provinces the Living Church meets with some success, both clergy and laity, whenever they avow themselves supporters of the Patriarch, being subjected to terrorism and arrest. Protests to the Commissary remain unanswered. The Bolsheviks argue although the Patriarch has repented of his anti-Soviet acts, he remains all the same, a counter-revolutionary at heart. Therefore we support the Living Church.

A quarrel has arisen between Antonin and Krasnitsky. Krasnitsky declares in his sermons that Antonin is "old leaven" and ought not to be heeded. Vedensky, who, as an out-and-out red, was recently made Archbishop of Crutetz by the Living Churchmen, has cut his hair, dresses as a layman and walks the streets arm-in-arm with his young mistress. At the services he wears neither *klobuk* nor *mantya*, but cassock and cap, like a popish prelate. This same Vedensky exhibits the greatest frenzy against the Orthodox Church in the provinces, when, with the active aid of the Soviet, he makes many tours and agitates against the Patriarch. Iskestia records that in a brief period he has visited 30 dioceses, in which he has succeeded in winning, according to that journal, many to the Living Church. He cut a poor figure, however, in Moscow during July, when the people laid hold of him as he delivered a lecture and he had to be rescued by the soldiery.

Ex-bishop Antonin, alarmed by the actions and popularity of the Patriarch, published in Izvestia "An Explanation of the Return of Tikhon. Even if the Synod sentenced him uncanonically, that gives no one, not even the Patriarch, the right individually and by his own authority to trample upon and subvert it. By the 12th canon of the Synod of Antioch, a bishop deposed by a synod receives the right to appeal to the Great Synod. A Patriarch having been deposed has not the right, on his own initiative, to assume the right to celebrate the Liturgy. The ex-Patriarch, treating the 67 bishops present at the Synod with contumely, has proceeded, on his own initiative and authority in defiance of the Church, to exercise the functions of Patriarch as if nothing had happened. The advice to give him was—'Sit still, put up with the deprivation imposed, do not be factious. Do not trample on the decisions of the 'bad' Synod. Wait. When a new Synod delivers its decision, maybe it will annul the former altogether.' By the 4th Canon of the Synod of Antioch, if a bishop, being degraded from his rank by a Synod, dare perform any sacerdotal ministration whatever, it is not only not permitted him to hope for restoration to his former rank by another Synod but no appeal on his part may be received, and all who communicate with him are excommunicate. The ex-Patriarch has not only displayed an indecorous monarchical blindness, but has neglected to appeal and has

brought his friends into excommunication. Although not pardoned by the Soviet Authority, the ex-Patriarch is producing, under Soviet rule, a monarchical revolution in the Church, i.e., one that is counter-revolutionary. He has resumed the Patriarchal function which had been abolished—on his own authority, through demagogic methods, by demagogic playing on the feelings of the faithful laity, by an appeal to the mob.

"With the intent to exploit the passions of the people on being released from confinement he reached such a pitch of indecorous behaviour as, having proceeded at full speed to render ecclesiastical honour to the funeral of the popular Moscow priest Mechéva, to refuse to enter the 'defiled' church and to conduct the Pannychidi by the graveside. Again, when, two days after his release, he celebrated the Liturgy in the Donskoi Monastery, he received the 'foreign diplomatic corps' within the Bema and placed himself on his throne upon the Patriarchal Carpet, strewn with fresh flowers. From the moment, indeed, that the ex-Patriarch came out of prison, though deposed by the Synod, he ignored it and, proceeding to style himself and to act as 'Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia,' became the promoter of faction, a schismatic, the leader of the Tikhonist party. Tikhon has thus separated himself from the Unity of the Church and has become the head of a sect or party, very large, it may be, in numbers, but subsisting only by subterfuge."

The author of this "Explanation," Antonin, has departed apparently into the country. Report has it that his departure bears the character of being made by no means of his own will but on the pressure of the Higher Political Ministry. According to recent news from Moscow Antonin has now fallen completely.

Ex-Protopresbyter Vedinsky, one of the principal leaders of the "Living Church" has petitioned the Soviet Government to prohibit the Patriarch Tikhon and Bishop Hilarion to perform sacerdotal ministrations, on the ground that their great influence attracts thousands of worshippers and that cries are raised in the crowds, "The Patriarch has appeared, the Prince will appear."

The Soviet Press reports that the position and authority of the Patriarch continues to grow in strength.

When a film of the Patriarch Tikhon had to be withdrawn from the screens of the Moscow cinemas, the public protested everywhere and commenced a boycott of the theatres.

According to the communication of the *Russ Press* the Soviet authorities have forbidden public ministrations by the Patriarch Tikhon, except in such cases as their particular permission has been obtained. That prohibition is due to the fact that services in which the Patriarch takes part attract invariably vast crowds of the people, with the result that collision with the partisans of the Living Church, and of other groups attached to the Soviet Government, never fails to occur.

The Soviet authorities have seized the Patriarch's manifesto condemning the autocephalicity of the Church of the Ukraine.

In view of the growth of the Patriarch's popularity, all the modernising societies have decided to unite and to organise a common synod under the presidency of ex-Metropolitan Evdokim, who has issued a manifesto on their common behalf to the episcopate, clergy and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church.

An interesting article on the Patriarch Tikhon has been published by Shrom in the *Prager Presse*. In it he says that now that the storms round the person of the Patriarch Tikhon have subsided, it has become possible to give a summary of the events which are connected with his name. After giving a full and clear sketch of the troubles in the Russian Church, he declares that at the present time the Bolsheviks do not hinder the Patriarch from expressing his views, for they reckon that his manifestoes will provoke opposition on the part of the Living Church and so will cause still greater division in the Church."

"The opponents of Tikhon," Shrom tells us, "hold great propagandist processions

and aim, by their utterances, at winning as many converts as possible. The Soviet Government not only allows their agitation but supports it in its Press, while at the same time not preventing the Patriarch from expressing his views in any way he chooses. That attitude must not, however, be attributed to neutrality. Most assuredly the deepening of the ecclesiastical conflict and the increase of the divisions in the ranks of the Orthodox population are great interests of the government, and even more of the Communist Party.

Some local Soviet authorities take action to prevent the mention of the Patriarch Tikhon in the Church Services. Thus, for example, we have received official documents from Moscow which show that an enquiry made by the Parish Council of the Pokaovsky Kolomensky Church in Petrograd as to the mention of the Patriarch in divine service, was assured by the Procurator of the Petrograd Government, Comrade Azovsky, as follows: the Patriarch Tikhon is indicted for public offences, provided against in articles 57 and 67 of the Criminal Code and, therefore, "a fresh manifestation of his recognition by individual citizens in groups under a claim to the right of religious freedom, might give legal occasion for the renewed persecution of those guilty of complicity in counter-revolutionary actions, even though not implicated in that direct participation in the offences designated, which is provided for in Article 68 of the criminal code."

Further, the Procurator of the Government of Novgorod declared that "the matter of the mention of this or that person in the services as a matter of internal ecclesiastical discretion, is no concern of the Government at all. The solemn mention, however, in the *ektenie* or at the Great Entrance of known counter-revolutionaries, such, *e.g.*, as the ex-Patriarch Tikhon, who is now under persecution, and his styling, "Our Lord," and so forth, passes the limit of simple prayer, and evidently belongs to the category of the approval of the known enemies of the Soviet Government. Therefore there must be no public mention whatever, in the *ektenie*, at the Great Entrance or at any time in the services of the Church, of known enemies of the Soviet Government, and among them is the ex-Patriarch Tikhon."

The above declaration threatens those who contravene it with three years' imprisonment with forced labour.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE PAPACY.

By the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev.

In view of the discussions which had appeared in Western periodicals, Anthony, Metropolitan of Kiev, saw fit to deliver a lecture in Belgrad on August 9/22 in order to elucidate the conditions which, from the Russian standpoint, must precede the Union of the Orthodox and Roman Churches. In estimating the weight of his words it should be remembered that the famous Metropolitan presides over the Acting Synod for all Russians outside Russia, which was formed by him under the Patriarch Tikhon's commission in 1920 and over which he presides by the Patriarch's authority. Our translation of his own summary is from his Synod's official publication, Tserkovniya Vedomsite, *of 15, 28 October.*

THE Church is one and has never been divided, but heretics and schismatics fell away from her in the first age, have fallen away since, and will fall away until the Lord's Second Coming. Therefore, there can be no question of Union with heretics and schismatics, but only of their restoration to union with the Church from which they fell away.

If the Roman Catholics should renounce their imaginings, then their restoration to union with the Church would be a matter for the greatest joy to the faithful and to the Holy Angels, not only for the sake of their souls' salvation but for the realisation of the

restored fulness of the Church's life to which our brethren of the West would bring that corporate ecclesiastical activity which is characteristic to them. In the circumstance of the renunciation by the Roman Catholics of their pseudo-dogmas, and in particular of that absurd one of them which ascribes Infallibility to the Pope in matters of Faith, the Holy Church, in restoring them to union with herself, would not only certainly restore to the Roman Primate that primacy which was assigned to him before his falling away into schism, but would probably invest him with such an authority in the Œcumenical Church as had never hitherto been assigned to him—inasmuch as that which he formerly possessed was confined to Western Europe and North-West Africa.

But such authority, assumed as being given to the Pope after his return to Orthodoxy, would be based, not on Roman fables about the Apostle Peter as chief over all the Apostles, about the succession of the Popes to the fulness of his imaginary authority, about indulgences, purgatory, etc., but in the practical need of ecclesiastical life by the force of which that life was gradually centralised: first, in the metropolitanates (from the third century) and then in the patriarchates (from the fourth and fifth centuries) with the result that the authority of the metropolitans and patriarchs in their areas was continually and gradually strengthened in proportion to the assimilation of the people to Christian culture. We admit for the future the conception of a single personal supremacy of the Church in consonance with the broadest preservation of the conciliar principle and on the condition that that supremacy does not pretend to be based on such invented traditions as the above, but only on the practical need of ecclesiastical life.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH.

By His Holiness Mar Timotheos, Archbishop of Malabar.

Before actually proceeding to describe the present position of the Assyrian Church, it is evidently necessary to say a few words about its past so as to enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the actual change that has since then come upon it.

This ancient Church is to be designated, more correctly, as the "Church of the East." Its adherents are variously described in the West as "East-Syrians," "Nestorians" (?), "Chaldeans" and "Assyrians," but now, for our purpose, we will call them Assyrians, without attempting to investigate the propriety of each of the above terms.

It has been historically admitted in the East that the holy Apostles, Mar Thoma, Mar Adai (SS. Thomas and Thaddeus) and Mar Mari, brought the spiritual light of the Gospel into the regions of the Persian Empire; and it has been, from those Apostolic times, very faithfully preserved by them ever since.

After the reception of the Living Message of Salvation, this branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church began to progress by gigantic strides, in spite of the diverse vicissitudes she had to combat with; such was the prosperity that attended her in the meridian hour of her evangelical activities that she had large metropolitan sees and bishoprics, not only in her own country, but in those remote regions of India, Tibet, Central Asia, China, various islands, and probably even Japan; all the metropolitans of these arch-dioceses, with their numerous bishops, owed unswerving allegiance to their spiritual Head, His Holiness the "Catholikos Patriarch of the East," residing then in the Apostolic See of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Even the mighty Shah-in-Shah of Persia had to reckon the Patriarch, not only as a powerful religious Head, but as a temporal one as well; for it has been a peculiar feature of this Church that ever since the days of its existence, from the very first century till to-day, its interests, either religious or political, have been exclusively in the hands of the Patriarch; and hence it was that the Patriarch was reckoned as a temporal chief by the Emperor himself. Such was the greatness of this Church of the East, and such its power.

But just as smiling summer is followed by the biting cold and choking fog of melancholy winter, so also those times of Assyrian prowess and sway have been followed by periods of disaster and dismay to such a considerable degree that the very existence of the Church of the East has become almost obscure.

As a result of the famous Crusades, in which the sympathy of this Church was entirely on the side of western Christendom, she began to be crumpled and cowed down by the relentless persecutions and ruthless massacres of the Turks, the Kurds, the Persians and the Arabs. These determined to spend their revenging fury on their Christian neighbours for the sympathy they evinced for their fellow-brethren in the West; consequently the Assyrians were hunted out from the major portions of their own vast land and were constrained to, and hemmed in, that triangular area that lies between the lakes of Urmi and Van and the modern city of Mosul; till the year 1914—the memory of which date stirs horror in every mind—they clung to this plot. But with the outbreak of the world-war, even this spot was awfully threatened; for the Assyrians, regardless of consequences, threw in their lot with the Entente, their western brethren, from whom, by virtue of the promises made to them, they expected

freedom and immunity from the sanguinary atrocities and shocking hooliganism of the fanatic Islamites.

As the "Smallest Ally" of the Entente, the Assyrians fought admirably well, and merited the high encomiums of the British and other European military experts; in about sixteen battles, within the short period of some months, these sturdy veterans, like Horatius and his party, baffled every combined attempt of the Turk, the Kurd, and the Persian, backed up by German help. But they could not stand long; for they were soon outnumbered by the disciplined hosts of the foe; and ammunition ran short, while reinforcement was far from getting on the spot. So it was inevitably determined to begin a a grand trek of the whole Assyrian population with its neighbours the Armenians; even this process could be accomplished only with the utmost tact and care of the British soldiers who were later on dispatched to relieve them; and nearly 50,000 homeless, penniless refugees were settled in the newly-pitched camps at Baquba, under the efficient supervision of Brigadier-General H. H. Austin.[1]

After the signing of the Armistice, it was deemed possible, that "Our Smallest Ally" would obtain her due recompense, by being repatriated and made free in her original home under the protection of Great Britain; but circumstances tended so unfavourably that every request for and attempt at the execution of this right scheme had to be suspended. The obvious outcome was, and is, that the members of this Ancient Church of the East, with their ecclesiastical dignitaries and other Christian fellow-men, became a large body of suffering wanderers in a strange land, with an inadequately remunerative soil and an unsuitable climate; while many more of them are scattered in the countries of Persia, Syria, Thrace, Russia, Greece, France and America. Since the beginning of the War many of their priests have died, having none to succeed them; their children have no regular schools or other institutions; they have not even churches to worship in; the majority of the ancient churches were razed to the ground, while the rest were converted into mosques. This is the result brought about by unchecked Turkish vandalism. Thus we see that the life of this Church is so inseparably interwoven with politics that the decay of the latter indispensably sounded the fearful death-knell of the former; and one fears very much that, unless the authorities, especially "this sceptred Isle," who are responsible towards the Assyrians, take immediately efficient steps to ameliorate adequately the present wretchedness, indigence, and suffering of these people, the final collapse of a once-powerful nation and in consequence one of the most ancient branches of the Apostolic Church, will soon be painfully realised.—Will not England respond?

[1] See the Baquba Camp, by Brig.-Gen. Austin, Faith Press, 1921.

PAPAL ROME—AND THE ORTHODOX EAST.

By Mgr Pierre Batiffol, Canon of Notre Dame de Paris, Hon. D.Litt., Oxford.

In publishing this article we depart from the natural rule of accepting contributions only from Anglican, Orthodox or other Eastern writers. The exception, however, is justified abundantly, not only by the personal distinction of Monsignor Batiffol, but also by the fact that he was present to state the Roman position at the informal discussions, the third of their series, held between Anglicans and Roman Catholics last autumn at Malines, under the auspices of Cardinal Mercier and with "the cognisance" both of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Vatican—see his Grace's "Letter to the Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion," dated Christmas, 1923. Bishop Charles Gore, who shared also in the Malines discussions, has informed us of his willingness to comment on this article in our April number, and we anticipate that Prof. Glubokovsky will be found ready to do the same. Meanwhile, we should express our sense of the privilege accorded us by Mgr Batiffol.—Editor.

En réponse à mon article, *Catholiques anglicans et Catholiques romains*, paru en français dans la *Revue des Jeunes* du 10 avril 1923 et en anglais dans le *Blackfriars* de juin, M. le Prof. Glubokovsky a donné au Christian East de novembre un article d'une noble tenue intitulé *Papal Rome and Orthodox East*. Je ne pouvais avoir un contradicteur plus compétent et plus distingué que l'ancien professeur de l'académie ecclésiastique de Pétrograd, aujourd'hui professeur à l'académie ecclésiastique de Sofia, et bien connu parmi nous historiens pour son *Saint Théodoret, évêque de Cyr* (1890), le meilleur livre que l'on ait sur ce beau sujet, au jugement de M. Harnack.

M. Glubokovsky m'accorde que je m'établis sur le terrain des faits, et ce terrain nous est heureusement commun ; "nous abordons les faits avec la même méthode." Mais il nous arrive de ne pas en donner toujours la même interprétation. M. Glubokovsky ne sera pas surpris que je défende l'interprétation que j'ai proposée, et dont je voudrais lui montrer qu'elle est légitime sans y mêler de controverses confessionnelles.

En se séparant du Siége de Rome, en 1054, l'Eglise d'Orient s'est-elle trouvée, en ce qui concerne l'autorité de saint Pierre considérée comme se perpétuant dans l'Eglise de Rome, abandonner quelque chose qui aurait été antérieurement et un temps de sa doctrine ? A cette question Bishop Gore répond : Non, le catholicisme grec n'a pas professé une telle doctrine. Et M. Glubokovsky

rappelle que j'ai répondu : Oui, le catholicisme grec a répudié ce qu'il acceptait au temps du concile de Chalcédoine. M. Glubokovsky, quant à lui, abonde dans le sens de Bishop Gore.

Tenons-nous à la question ainsi posée.

I.

M. Glubokovsky me prête cette présupposition que "*the Papacy in its present formation is entirely identical with that of the epoch of the seven Œcumenical Councils.*" J'ai à peine besoin de dire que cette affirmation massive n'est pas de mon cru. L'identité de la papauté à travers les siècles, comme de toute la constitution divine de l'Eglise, doit être entendue en fonction de la loi du développement. Et il faut en outre soigneusement distinguer ce qui appartient à la constitution divine de l'Eglise de tout ce qui est institution ecclésiastique contingente, comme les provinces, les métropoles, les patriarcats, les concordats, le sacré collége, etc. M. Glubokovsky a raison de dire cependant que nous nous appliquons à mettre en lumière "*the various historical facts asserting papal sole and exclusive primacy,*" et que de ces faits le premier est que "*the Easterns not seldom appealed to the Roman See, where such appeals were judicially examined and authoritative decisions on them promulgated.*"

M. Glubokovsky a raison encore de dire que nous inférons d'appels de cette espèce que l'évêque de Rome était censé posséder et ne doutait pas de posséder une compétence qui s'étendait à toute la catholicité et qui était une prérogative héritée de l'apôtre Pierre.

Le second fait serait, "*the dogmatic primacy of the Popes, inasmuch as all the Œcumenical Councils were expressions of the Papal will, and only from the Popes received their universal obligatory power over the Church.*" Je tiens à faire remarquer à M. Glubokovsky que je ne me suis pas arrêté à considérer le second fait.

II.

Les appels ont fait l'objet d'une étude de P. Bernardakis (1903) que j'ai citée, parce qu'elle est la plus complète que nous ayons, encore qu'elle pourrait être reprise et approfondie. Il conviendrait, de plus, de distinguer avec soin les appels qui s'adressaient à l'Occident des appels qui s'adressaient au Siége Apostolique en tant que tel. Mais pour tant qu'on insiste sur cette discrimination, il reste que, au Ve siècle et jusqu'à l'époque de Photius, des appels sont adressés d'Orient à l'évêque de Rome qui est saisi de jugements prononcés en Orient pour qu'il les revise. J'ai cité l'exemple caractérisé de l'appel formé contre les sentences du brigandage d'Ephèse de 449 par l'évêque de Constantinople Flavien, par l'évêque de Cyr Théodoret,

par l'évêque de Dorylée Eusèbe. J'aurais pu citer un exemple tout aussi caractérisé, celui de l'évêque d Ephèse Iddua, en 437, accusé devant l'évêque de Constantinople et son concile, jugé et innocenté par ce tribunal, poursuivi alors à Rome par ses accusateurs, et le pape Xystus confirmant la sentence de Constantinople.

M. Glubokovsky reconnaît que ces appels sont des faits incontestables, mais il s'applique à leur enlever toute valeur canonique. Les appelants sont des "*persons grievously wronged and seeking re-establishment of their rights*"; ils appellent à Rome, "*because they had no other means available, as the authorities all over the East happened to be, at the time, inimical and persecuting*"; ils exaltent l'autorité du pape "*in order to secure for themselves a special importance of the Pope's verdicts.*" Concédons-le. Mais quand M. Glubokovsky conclut que ces appels "*were neither constitutional nor regular, but extraordinary and sporadic,*" nous avons le droit de lui dire : *sporadic*, oui ; *extraordinary*, oui encore, car enfin bien des orientaux qui auraient pu appeler à Rome de sentences injustes de l'Orient, s'en sont abstenus ; mais *neither constitutional nor regular*, non.

Sans doute aucun canon oriental ne prévoit les appels, à l exception des canons de Sardique qui ne sont ni œcuméniques, ni orientaux, encore que Saint Athanase y ait collaboré. Mais aucun canon oriental, jusqu à Photius, n'a interdit les appels.

Nous avons la preuve que, à Constantinople, autour de 440, on les tenait pour réguliers, puisque, à propos du recours à Rome de Saint Athanase déposé par les Ariens, les deux historiens grecs, tous deux hommes de loi, tous deux de Constantinople, Socrate et Sozomène, ce dernier bien en cour auprès de l'empereur Théodose II, déclare que c'est une loi ecclésiastique que soit invalide tout ce qui est prononcé contre la volonté de l'évêque de Rome : Μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας (*Socrat.* II, 17). Si, comme le suppose M. Harnack, cette règle a été formulée par le pape Jules (*Dogmengeschichte*, t. II[4], p. 102), combien il est remarquable que, cent ans plus tard, elle soit mentionnée comme un canon organique de l Eglise par les deux historiens grecs de l'Eglise du temps de Théodose II !

Veut-on une autre preuve ? Eustathe de Sébaste, déposé en 357 par un obscur concile de Mélitène, déposé une seconde fois avec plus d'éclat par les Ariens réunis à Constantinople en 360 autour de Constance II, vient à Rome en 366, se fait rétablir par le pape Libère, et revient en Orient avec la lettre qui le rétablit : saint Basile, de qui on tient le fait (*Epist.* CCLXIII, 3), ne trouve rien là que de régulier.

M. Glubokovsky insiste. Si, dit-il, les sentences d'appel prononcées à Rome avaient été souveraines et définitives, "*there would be no room for either revision or approval of them.*" Or, dans le cas de

Théodoret, nous voyons le pape Léon relever l'évêque de Cyr de la sentence fulminée contre lui par le brigandage d'Ephèse, puis, "*the whole affair was submitted for re-examination at the Council of Chalcedon, which, alone, re-instated Theodoret.*"

L'argument développé là n'est pas nouveau, car déjà Bossuet tire parti de cette sorte de revision par le concile d'une sentence prononcée par le pape (*Gallia Orthodoxa*, III, 18). En fait, les magistrats, qui d'ordre de l'empereur forment le bureau du concile, à Chalcédoine, invitent Théodoret à prendre séance, "parce que, déclarent-ils, le très saint archevêque Léon lui a rendu la dignité épiscopale et que le très divin et religieux empereur a ordonné qu'il prenne part au concile." Donc Théodoret est en règle. Mais son entrée soulève un tumulte. Les évêques de la faction de Dioscore (Egypte, Illyricum, Palestine) demandent son expulsion, sous prétexte qu'il est favorable à Nestorius. Les évêques du Pont, de Thrace, d'Asie, manifestent en sens contraire et crient : "A la porte Dioscore l'assassin." Le bureau supplie les évêques de s'apaiser, et pour concilier les deux factions décide que Théodoret prendra place au banc des accusateurs, et le calme revient. En somme, le bureau consent à ce que le cas de Théodoret soit réservé, non qu'il soit douteux, mais parce qu'il y a contre Théodoret une faction qui ne désarme pas. A la VIIIe session, Théodoret est requis d'anathématiser Nestorius, et il s'exécute. Le bureau prononce alors : "Tout doute est levé au sujet du très théophile Théodoret, puisqu'il a anathématisé devant nous Nestorius, et qu'il a été reconnu par le très théophile et très saint archevêque Léon de la vieille Rome. . . Il ne reste plus à votre piété qu'à prononcer que Théodoret doit recouvrer son Eglise, ainsi que le très saint Léon a jugé." Les acclamations éclatent qui approuvent la proposition du bureau : "Théodoret est digne de son siége ! Nombreuses années à l'archevêque Léon ! Après Dieu Léon a jugé !" Peut-on dire après cela que, "*the whole affair was submitted for re-examination at the Council of Chalcedon, which alone reinstated Theodoret*" ? C'est une exagération manifeste. On a accordé à une faction du concile, la faction qui était solidaire du brigandage d'Ephèse, que Théodoret rendrait raison de son orthodoxie : les légats du pape n'ont pas fait difficulté d'accorder cette satisfaction à la minorité du concile, nous ne pouvons être plus difficiles qu'eux.

M. Glubokovsky poursuit : "*The Church is thankful to the Popes for their historic services to Christianity, but to turn these services into a right of dogmatic domination, unsupported by prescript, over the whole Church, would be a seductive usurpation. . . . If P. Batiffol refers to the over-courteous, and even servile, style of the Eastern appeals to Rome, one must differentiate between convention and dogma, and*

not raise the first to the degree of the second." M. Glubokovsky a raison de dire que dans telles lettres d'appel d Orientaux à Rome il y a des termes d'une déférence sujette à caution. Bishop Gore, dans l'article qu'il a écrit sur saint Léon pour le *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, a dit avec clairvoyance que Théodoret dans sa lettre d'appel met très en relief la primauté du siége de Rome, mais qu'il ne fonde pas cette primauté sur les prérogatives "*on which Leo grounds his primacy.*" C'est une observation de valeur. Je ne pense pas que nous devions tirer parti, nous catholiques romains, des déclarations éloquentes, mais inadéquates, de lettres comme celles de Théodoret, de Flavien, d Eusèbe de Dorylée, pas davantage des déclarations de Nestorius exaltant le pape saint Léon, " le siége de saint Pierre et l'honneur apostolique " dans son *Livre d'Héraclide* (éd. Nau, p. 302). Pareilles déclarations sont interessées. Ce qui compte, la seule chose qui compte, c'est l'appel lui-même.

Car l'appel suppose à Rome une compétence, et cette compétence n'est nulle part ailleurs, et, supposé que les Orientaux ne se fassent pas de cette *potestas* une idée aussi nette que les Occidentaux, que les Romains, encore est-il qu'ils y recourent, et contre qui ? contre des conciles d'Orient comme le brigandage d'Ephèse (ce nom de " brigandage " lui a été donné par saint Léon et lui est resté), c'est-à-dire un concile qui avait tous les dehors d'un concile général et qui avait pour lui le Basileus.

Nous pouvons donc conclure que M. Glubokovsky n'est pas fondé à écrire : "*Thus we have arrived at the conclusion that the Eastern appeals to Rome did not mean that the Easterns accepted the primacy of the Popes.*"

III.

Venons au fait du concile de Chalcédoine. "*It is impossible to suppose that the Popes dominated the Councils, the authority of which was higher than that of the Popes, who were thus bound to a certain subordination.*" En parlant ainsi, M. Glubokovsky ne tient pas compte de ce fait, d'abord, que dans un concile comme celui de Chalcédoine, l'évêque de Rome représenté par ses légats comptait au moins pour tout l'Occident, c'est-à-dire pour la moitié de la catholicité universelle. On ne peut pas parler de subordination de l'Occident envers l'Orient et prétendre que le concile était plus que le pape.

Donc, dès là que le concile prenait une résolution sans le pape ou contre le pape, il cessait d être l'accord de l'Orient et de l'Occident, pour n'être plus œcuménique qu'au sens où οἰκουμένη désigne les Etats du Basileus.

Un autre fait a été négligé par M. Glubokovsky qui est que le

The Abbot of the Coptic Convent of Jerusalem.

The Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Bishop of Jerusalem.

The Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem.

Bishop McInnes

The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The Abbot of the Abyssinian Convent in Jerusalem.

concile de Chalcédoine a accepté que l'évêque de Rome s'affime la tête de toutes les Eglises. " Nous étions là environ cinq cents, que tu conduisais comme la tête conduit les membres," dira au pape saint Léon la lettre synodale du concile. Voilà une subordination catégorique, consentie de la part des évêques orientaux envers l'évêque de Rome. Et cette fois ces évêques ne sont pas des persécutés, mais bien le catholicisme grec assemblé, unanime, maître de ses démarches et de ses déclarations. On pourra voir dans les *Theologica*, t. II (1921), p. 132-136, du P. d'Herbigny, le détail documentaire. Quant à la leçon qui s'en dégage, elle a été tirée par V. Soloviev, dans son livre ardent, *La Russie et l'Eglise universelle* (éd. franç. 1922, p. 181-202), qui montre comment le concile de Chalcédoine s'est incliné devant les revendications de saint Léon, loin de s'élever contre elles. Si saint Léon a été un usurpateur, écrit Soloviev, il faut accuser le concile de Chalcedoine de prévarication.

M. Glubokovsky me soupçonne d'avoir " *a good deal of trouble with the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon.*" Je puis le rassurer pleinement. C'est en effet me prêter une pensée qui n'est pas la mienne, que de dire que je tiens le 28e canon de Chalcédoine " *as having undoubtedly the value of a canon of an Œcumenical Council.*" Dès l'instant que le pape Léon (et l'Occident avec lui) repousse ce canon, comment pourraiton lui donner cette valeur ?

Mais pourquoi le pape Léon le repousse-t-il ? Le pape ne prend pas ombrage de ce que les diocèses de Thrace, d'Asie, du Pont passent sous l'obédience de l'évêque de Constantinople, pas plus que du partage des provinces entre l'évêque d'Antioche et l'évêque de Jérusalem : ce sont là dispositions qui rentrent dans la compétence du concile, en tant qu'il est concile général d'Orient. La pensée de saint Léon est révélée par ce qu'en rapportent ses légats : ils ont dans leurs instructions de ne pas laisser violer la volonté des saints pères et amoindrir la personne du pape, et de ne pas tolérer que quelque évêque, fort de la prépotence de sa ville, essaie d'usurper. La volonté des saints pères est représentée par le 6e canon de Nicée, dans lequel on croit à Rome trouver consacrée une hiérarchie des siéges, qui fait de Rome le premier, d'Alexandrie le second, d'Antioche le troisième. Au fond, la vraie raison de saint Léon est qu'il se rend clairement compte que Constantinople tend à créer à son propre profit en Orient une primauté, et une primauté d'essence politique.

" Quel n'eût pas été son aveuglement, écrit Mgr Duchesne (*Hist. anc. t.* III, p. 464), s'il n'y avait pas discerné un grand danger pour l'unité de l'Eglise et pour la dignité de l'épiscopat grec ! A l'antique conception de la fraternité chrétienne présidée par l'Eglise apostolique de Rome, on était en voie d'en substituer une autre, celle de l'Eglise dirigée de la capitale par un prélat, que sa situation, souvent aussi son

origine et ses tendances d'esprit, plaçaient sous l'influence immédiate de la cour et du gouvernement. Et puis, allait-on pousser plus loin l'application de ce principe que l'évêque de la résidence impériale a droit à une juridiction souveraine? Transporté en Italie, cette notion de droit ecclésiastique n'allait à rien moins qu'à déposséder le siège de saint Pierre au profit de l'évêque de Ravenne."

M. Glubokovsky me reproche d'avoir dit que le 28e canon "*put forward as a ground for the primacy of the Roman See the consideration that Rome was the capital of the Empire.*" M. Glubokovsky ne rend ni ma pensée, ni celle du 28e canon. "Au siége de la vieille Rome, parce que cette ville est souveraine (διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην), les pères ont à bon droit attribué la primauté (τὰ πρεσβεῖα), et dans le même dessein les 150 évêques (du concile de 381) ont accordé la même primauté (τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα) au siége très saint de la nouvelle Rome . . . grande comme elle (la vieille Rome) dans les choses ecclésiastiques, étant la seconde après elle." Où voit-on que ce canon reconnaisse à la vieille Rome des "*prerogatives of Apostolic origin,*" comme dit M. Glubokovsky?

Mais j'ai dit que le concile de Chalcédoine a demandé au pape Léon de confirmer le 28e canon, spécialement. Pourquoi? Pour lui donner une autorité œcuménique? Pas n'était besoin, puisque le canon ne concernait que l'Orient, au même titre que tous les autres canons de Chalcédoine pour lesquels on ne demandait rien à Rome. En réalité, le 28e canon est soumis à l'approbation du pape Léon, parce que dans l'*Actio* XVI du concile, le dit canon ayant été accepté par tous les évêques présents et aussi bien par le bureau qui représente l'empereur, le légat Lucentius a demandé que le dit canon fut repoussé, ou que l'on prit acte de sa protestation, et que nous sachions, dit-il, "ce que nous devons en référer à l'apostolique et précellent évêque de toute l'Eglise, afin que lui-même puisse juger de l'offense faite à son siége et de la transgression des (anciens) canons." Le premier mouvement du concile fut de ne rien entendre; puis il se ravisa; et la lettre synodale fut addressée à Rome, qui demandait au pape Léon de confirmer et les sentences doctrinales, et le canon 28. Le pape Léon réfusa le canon. Dans ces conditions je ne comprends pas M. Glubokovsky écrivant: "*We prefer to remain in agreement with the Œcumenical Council, the validity of which is not denied by Rome itself.*" Rester d'accord avec le concile, c'est solliciter et recevoir le jugement de Rome sur le canon que le concile a soumis à Rome, et que Rome a rejeté.

IV.

M. Glubokovsky dans le paragraphe qu'il consacre à la question de savoir quelle primauté on trouve dévolue à saint Pierre dans le Nouveau Testament, résume sa pensée dans cet aphorisme: "*In my*

exegetic understanding there is no biblical justification for the papal claims during the time of the Œcumenical Councils."

Nous reconnaissons là l'exégèse négative que nous retrouvons embusquée dans tous les textes scripturaires qui peuvent avoir une portée dogmatique ou confessionnel ; si ces textes sont authentiques, ils ne prouvent rien, mais s ils prouvent quelque chose, ils ne sont pas authentiques ! On peut échapper à ce dilemme, en tâchant de ne faire dire aux mots ce qu ils disent, comme l énonce Bishop Headlam à propos de Mat. XVI, 18-19, dans son livre *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion* (1920), p. 35, et comme s applique à le pratiquer, par exemple, l article, *Simon Peter* de Chase dans le *Dictionary of the Bible* de Hastings.

L'historien a aussi le droit de dire que l'histoire subséquente éclaire la signification de textes qui sans elle resteraient obscurs.

Le cardinal Newman a écrit que des paroles du Sauveur comme " Sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon Eglise," sont des prophéties et des promesses, " *promises to be accomplished by Him who made them, prophecies to be fulfilled according to the need, and to be interpreted by the event, by the history,*" et par histoire Newman entend, non pas l'histoire apostolique, celle qui est racontée dans les Actes des Apôtres, mais l histoire ecclésiastique, celle du IVe et Ve siècles. An *Essay on the Development*, éd. 1878, p. 196. Nous ne construirions pas l'institution de l'épiscopat monarchique sur les textes du Nouveau Testament qui nous parlent des ἐπίσκοποι de l'âge apostolique, mais l'épiscopat monarchique a son anticipation, sa justification, dans ces textes. Il en est de même du privilége apostolique revendiqué et exercé par les papes : il se raccorde à la primauté de l'apôtre Pierre, qui en est l'anticipation et qui l'autorise.

Voilà ce qu'un historien peut et doit dire, en laissant aux exégètes l'exégèse. C'est dans cette perspective historique que j'ai considéré le texte I Cor. i, 12, que je persiste à croire beaucoup plus significatif que ne le croit M. Glubokovsky. Si besoin était, je le renverrais au travail du P. Roiron, " Saint Paul témoin de la primauté de Pierre," *Recherches de science religieuse*, 1913, p. 489-531.

V.

Le dernier paragraphe de M. Glubokovsky n'a plus guère trait à des considérations d histoire, et rentre un peu trop pour mon goût dans la manière polémique. Je me dois cependant de répondre à un reproche qui m'est adressé. J'ai dit, en effet, que la prérogative propre au pape ne supprime pas la prérogative et l'utilité du concile œcuménique.

Les théologiens catholiques, en effet, enseignent que le pape ne peut toucher à la constitution divine de l Eglise. Le pape ne peut donc supprimer l'épiscopat, qui appartient à cette constitution

divine, ni supprimer la fonction de cet épiscopat *in magisterio et regimine ecclesiastico.*

M. Glubokovsky semble croire que les conciles œcuméniques appartiennent à la constitution divine de l'Eglise : ils n'appartiennent qu'au *Kirchenrecht !* Ils ne sont pas, en effet, une institution du Christ ou des apôtres. Leur *magisterium* est le *magisterium* collectif de l'épiscopat universel, en y comprenant l'évêque de Rome, et l'assistance du Saint Esprit qu'ils revendiquent est celle qui est promise à cet épiscopat universel.

Mais, poursuit M. Glubokovsky, supposé le pape infaillible, le concile œcuménique sans le pape n'a pas " *the decisive voice in Church affairs.*" Nous l'accordons sans difficulté.

Donc, conclut M. Glubokovsky, " *Councils, fully such as the Œcumenical Councils, have no room at all in the present system of the Papacy.*" M. Glubokovsky ne conçoit le concile que souverain, nous le concevons coordonné, coordonné à l'autorité du pape, en l'absence duquel il ne s'assemble pas.

Alors le concile n'est pas libre ! Non, il n'est pas libre, si le pape s'est prononcé *ex cathedra* sur la question soumise au concile, mais l'hypothèse est vaine. En réalité, le concile est consulté sur une question qui n'a pas été définie *ex cathedra*, il l'examine, il la discute : on a vu au concile de Trente la question de la souveraineté du pape mise à l'ordre du jour par les légats, et retirée, parce que le concile ne s'accordait pas sur la formule proposée. On peut voir dans les procès verbaux du concile du Vatican quels amendements les définitions ont subis avant d'être fixées.

Cette coordination a toujours été la règle, même au temps où saint Léon faisait précéder le concile de Chalcédoine de sa lettre à Flavien, c'est du moins le jugement du Cardinal Bellarmin en personne, dont Bossuet s'irrite à tort (*Gallia Orthodoxa, III.*, 7, 18.) Si M. Glubokovsky veut bien consulter la *Collectio Lacensis*, t. VII (1890), p. 286 et 397, il verra qu'au concile du Vatican on a discuté la question de savoir quelle serait la condition des futurs conciles œcuméniques, et fortement affirmé, soit l'utilité, soit la liberté, qu'on leur reconnait.

Un dernier mot : M. Glubokovsky oppose, en terminant, ce qu'il appelle " *the ascending progress* " du catholicisme romain à ce qu'il appelle " *the order of the Œcumenical Councils*," et il déclare que la papauté " *with its all-engulfing supremacy will remain an unsurmountable obstacle to our reunion with Roman Catholicism.*" Non, il n'est pas d'obstacle insurmontable à la réalisation des desseins de Dieu sur son Eglise. Le jour où M. Glubokovsky découvrirait, comme Soloviev, que la *potestas* papale rentre dans l'*order of the Œcumenical Councils*, ainsi qu'en témoigne le concile de Chalcédoine, la réunion du catholicisme oriental au catholicisme romain serait bien près de s'accomplir.

THE KALENDAR

WITH SOME CONSIDERATIONS AGAINST A FIXED EASTER

BY

THE REV. H. A. BOYS, F.R.Met.S., CHAPLAIN AT PATRAS, GREECE, 1870–75.

IT is difficult to believe that there has been any serious demand for a fixed Easter from those who regard Good Friday and Easter Day as the commemoration of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord, and who so keep those days; that is to say, from practising Christians in England; still less from those in Europe, or in any other part of Christendom.

The strength of the cry has come from our own urban population, from those who are thinking about a statutory holiday, irrespective of any religious commemoration. They take it for granted that their statutory holiday will be at Easter, and they want longer days and warmer weather for their holiday makers. This cry is, therefore, loud in England, but nowhere else. It finds no echo in Presbyterian Scotland. On the Continent, May 1st is already in possession as a public holiday, by no means of Christian character.

But, though the cry for a fixed Easter did not come from Christians as such, when once the question had been raised, some among ourselves have been asking whether, after all, it might not be a good thing to have a fixed rather than a changing Easter. The second Sunday in April has been suggested, in the belief that the Resurrection took place actually on April 9th.

Our State Authority is no doubt fully competent to ordain a statutory holiday in England on any date that it thinks desirable. It is *not* competent to shift the date of Good Friday and Easter Day. That is a matter for the Church. And in this the Church of England cannot act by herself. This religious commemoration belongs to all Christendom: and a fixing of Easter by anything less than the whole of Christendom could only further increase our unhappy divisions.

There would be considerable gain in one direction, though loss in another, if our State would altogether separate its statutory holidays from Good Friday and Easter, and also from Whitsuntide, and would appoint a new one on and about St. George's Day, April 23rd (not till 1943 would this clash with Good Friday); and another on June 22nd, the Coronation Day of our present King, which would make a more appropriate "Empire Day" than May 24th, and never clash with feast or fast of the Church. In such case, too, the Patron Saint of England would no longer be the least regarded of the four Patron Saints of the British Islands!

It will be questioned seriously by many whether even the whole Church could *rightly* sever the connection between the Christian Passover and that other divinely-appointed Passover ordained in Egypt more than 3,000 years ago on a lunar basis. But for so momentous a change there ought certainly to be required nothing *less* than a consensus of all those bodies of Christians which *do* keep Easter. Those who do *not* may, without offence, be left out of our reckoning.

In the early days of Christianity, when the rule for Easter had yet to be decided, two ways were open.

It could be kept on the fourteenth day of the Jewish lunar month Nisan, *with* the full moon, *i.e.*, on differing days of the week.

Or, it could be kept always on the first day of the week, which meant the Lord's Day, following the Paschal moon.

Each of these methods was extensively in use, though the second in time prevailed.

In the third century it was ruled that Easter Day must in no case coincide with the Jewish Passover, but must be deferred a whole week, if necessary, to avoid such coincidence.

But no one in those early days ever so much as thought of tying Easter to a fixed

date in the Solar Kalendar, *e.g.*, to April 9th, or the Sunday following. And this was *not* because the Christian Church did not *know* of the Solar Kalendar, nor because it did not *use* it.

It will be well, however, now to consider the Solar Kalendar before going further into the Easter question.

A preliminary digression concerning the clock may here be helpful.

Primitive mankind had no conception of accurately calculated hours.

In Northern Rhodesia to-day the natives are perfectly content with the following terminology.

"When elephants pull down trees," *i.e.*, before dawn.

"The first cock crowing."

"The first appearance of the sun"—the day spring: *Ngwa-ngwa-ngwa.*

"The sun overhead," *i.e.*, noon.

"When the sun says 'Shoo,'" *i.e.*, sunset.

"When the leopards cry," *i.e.*, dusk.

In the Bible one finds 12 hours to the day, reckoned from sunrise to sunset, these necessarily of varying length, according to the season. No precision was possible so long as an hour was the twelfth part of a day that varied in length from summer to winter. The nearer to the Equator the less was the variation, and the less it mattered.

But as civilization spread northward, and the difference between the summer day and the winter day increased, till the one was double of the other, and more than double, observing man was driven to seek a more accurate method. He soon found that noon, which he could determine with very fair precision, gave him the unvarying starting point that he wanted. From this he could reckon to midnight, and henceforward he could enjoy twelve hours of unvarying length from midnight to noon, and other twelve from noon to midnight; and accurate computation of time became possible. Witness the magnificent mediæval clock at Strasbourg and that at Glastonbury (still in good working order in Wells Cathedral). Quite recently it was further found that the days so reckoned were subject to a very small variation; and man has now made clocks which keep more *uniform*, one must not say *better*, time than the sun itself.

As with the clock, so it has been, and yet will be, with the Solar Kalendar.

Primitive man, with short memory, reckoned by moons. He lacked artificial light, so moonlight was of considerable importance to him. But civilized man in Egypt, Babylonia, or Crete—the builders of Stonehenge, also—soon found that it was necessary to determine the length of the year; and that meant to find out the longest and shortest days.

Close to the Equator this would be very difficult, but between, say, Lat. 25° and 40° it was easy enough.

Even in Hampshire I have been able, in the short space of two years, to determine very nearly which is the shortest day, by the simple process of watching the sunset from my study window! I have seen it setting behind a ridge less than a mile away—its point of disappearance working sensibly more and more south, till about December 19th it had apparently reached its limit, and by December 24th had begun to work northward. This in our misty and cloudy climate!

But in the clear air and sunny skies of the Mediterranean, how great the advantage to the observer! Unclouded skies the rule, rather than the exception; clear-cut horizons of jagged mountain 40, 60 or 100 miles distant. From Patras in Greece I have watched the point of sunset travelling along the mountain backbone of Leucadia, Cephalonia, and Zante, 60 or 70 miles distant; from Algiers the point of sunrise travelling in like manner along the Atlas range, 30 or 40 miles away.

Nor could the sudden glory of the "day spring," once seen thus, be ever forgotten. Then the full meaning flashed upon one of that phrase in the Benedictus—"The day spring from on high hath visited us." Think of Zachariah travelling so often along the high ridge of the hill country of Judæa between Hebron and Jerusalem, beginning

his journey at dawn, and looking across the deep abyss of the Dead Sea to where, behind the hard outline of the mountains of Moab, the red glory of the Eastern sky grew every moment more intense, till the first rays of the sun himself glittered on that distant horizon, and it was day.

Observant men in Egypt, Chaldea, and Crete (there must have been many), or later in Greece, could not have failed in a few years to ascertain very nearly exactly the extreme points of sunrise and of sunset to north and to south.

These once settled, they had got—what corresponded to noon and midnight in the reckoning of the day—the true starting points, *viz.*, the longest and shortest days—Midsummer and Midwinter.

The other two Solar Epochs, the Vernal and Autumnal Equinoxes are *not* equidistant from the longest and shortest days, but are appreciably nearer to Midwinter. This it would have been less easy for them to discover.

If the year had consisted of an exact number of days, say 364, the rest would have been easy. But it is not so. The Creator has given to us a course of nature in which nothing *does* fit exactly. Astronomical periods are incommensurate one with another. Days do not fit with lunar months; and neither days nor lunar months fit with solar years. The History of the Kalendar is that of a slow struggle, for thousands of years, to discover and adjust the small misfittings. The exact number of days in the year *cannot* be expressed—not with twenty places of decimals ! !

I have been at pains to lay stress on all this, in order to show how easily and how naturally the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, or *Etruria* could have developed a Solar Kalendar with the summer and winter solstices as points of reckoning. It would not be quite exact. Indeed, I would *postulate* such a kalendar for Etruria, centuries before the foundation of Rome, which had slowly got wrong by nine or ten days, exactly as the Julian Kalendar, in later times, *did* get wrong, till in the infancy of the Roman State King Numa, according to tradition, issued an edition of it, some features of which have lasted till now, and which bears eloquent witness against a superstition by which modern Europe has been obsessed. It would almost seem to have become a fixed belief to-day among the white races that when the world was created January 1st was, by Divine ordinance, appointed to be New Year's Day ! Whereas January 1st for New Year's Day is, in fact, a fond thing, recently accepted, founded on no certain astronomical principle, but rather repugnant to the scientific mind—and I may add, to the Christian mind also.

The Romans were, like the English, a practical conquering people. If they had been blessed with a cumbrous system of weights and measures like our own, and if the Greeks had evolved a clear and consistent one like the Metric system, we may be certain that rather than make the effort to adopt that simple and easy method, the Romans would still have clung to their own laborious and inconsistent scheme. Their mind was not scientific, and their Kalendar was, in later days, an appalling jumble. What with their Kalends, Nones and Ides in every month, their years *many* days too short, their extra months frequently intercalated by incompetent and corrupt officials, it must have been as difficult to know whereabouts in the year they were, as to do arithmetic with Roman numerals ! Yet our Kalendar is built on that of Rome, not on that of the clearer-headed Greeks.

We owe to Numa a continual reminder of our perversity in making January the first month of our year. He gave to his seventh month the accurate description "September." We make it our ninth month, and still call it "September"; and so with October, November and December. He began his year with March; and how near to, or how far from, the Vernal Equinox that may have been in his day it is impossible now to say. By degrees *names* for the months took the place of *numbers*, and in the days of Julius Cæsar, "March," "April," "May," and "June," had supplanted the first four numbers. Then came Quintilis, Sextilis, and so on to December, with two names, January and February, to finish.

During the latter days of the Roman Republic the Kalendar was drifting into more and more hopeless confusion. The 1st of March had got to be in early winter! and in 46 B.C. Julius Cæsar, now become absolute ruler, took the Kalendar in hand. He had the sense to employ the brains of the Greek Sosigenes, and the power to enforce his conclusions. To restore the original standard, between 80 and 90 extra days were added to that year, which had 445 days, and was known, not unjustly, as the Year of Confusion!!

To Sosigenes we owe the introduction of Leap Year. He had learned that the length of the year was very nearly 365¼ days. So, by giving 365 days to the year, with the provision that every fourth year should have 366, he adjusted the days to the solar year with very fair accuracy, and we owe him a deep debt of gratitude. He seems to have known that his adjustment was not quite perfect, and that in the future some correction would be necessary, but with the means at his disposal he did all that was then possible.

He also arranged the lengths of his months on a sensible consistent plan. To March he gave 31 days, to April 30, to May 31, to June 30, and so on alternately; but his final month, February, could only in Leap Year enjoy its full 30, having in ordinary years to be content with 29. Julius Cæsar changed the name of the fifth month Quintilis, calling it "July" after himself, and the new Julian Kalendar came into force in the year 45 B.C.

But this easily-remembered and consistent arrangement was badly marred, some twenty years later, by the vanity of Augustus, who named the sixth month, Sextilis, after himself—"August"; and, not content to have his month any shorter than that of his Uncle Julius, decreed 31 days to August, shifting the thirty-ones and the thirties of the next four months, and robbing poor February of yet another day!

These foolish alterations in a wise original we still retain.

Common sense would seem to require that the extra day of the Leap Year should be at the end of the twelfth month. To have it, *as we do*, at the end of the *second* month, is a manifest absurdity. But it is no easy matter to make out how January 1 got to be treated as New Year's Day. Possibly it was so treated at first for *some* purposes only; just as we make our financial year begin in April, our agricultural year at Michaelmas, although our Kalendar year begins with January.

But, as a matter of fact, both before and after the Christian era there were many, bewilderingly many, different dates in use as New Year's Days. One of these, of wide use during a long period, reckoned the new year to begin near to Michaelmas.

The Christian Church looked with suspicion for fifteen centuries on January 1 for New Year's Day as of Pagan origin, and sought after something to correspond better with the Jewish month "Nisan." "This month shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you." Even so, there were many varying usages in Christian countries, yet it may be broadly stated that, up to 1582, Lady Day became *more and more* the New Year's Day of Christendom.

The Julian Kalendar involved error as to the length of the solar year to the extent of three days in four centuries, so that in the 16th century the error had got to be no less than ten days. Observing ecclesiastics, Roger Bacon for one, had discovered the increasing error, but they were before their time.

In 1582, however, Pope Gregory XIII. was in a position to follow the example of Julius Cæsar. He called to his aid the best scientific brains of his day—this time mainly Italian brains—got rid of the ten days' error by jumping from October 4 to October 15, ruled that in future the last year of each century should not be a leap year unless the number of the century were divisible by 4. Thus 1600 was to be a Leap Year, but 1700, 1800, 1900 were not to be so.

1600 was a Leap Year, and so the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian Kalendars, which now began to be called "New Style" and "Old Style," continued to be ten days until 1700, and then became 11.

Italy, France, Spain and Portugal adopted the Gregorian Kalendar immediately; within five years most of Western Europe, including some Protestant States, Prussia and Holland, had accepted it. England was, alas! the very last to submit to astronomical truth! Not till 1752 did she fall into line, and then not wisely. For the jump of eleven days was made in September, from the 4th to the 16th, much to the perplexity and wrath of the multitudes, who thought that their lives were being shortened! Mobs paraded the streets, shouting, "Give us our eleven days." That perturbation was soon over, but September was the very worst month in which to make the change. For it was just before Michaelmas rents were due! So it was conceded that the rents need not be paid till October 11. A reasonable provision for that one year. But it was allowed to stand permanently! And we have been saddled ever since with such misleading terms as Old Michaelmas Day, Old Christmas Day; and hence it is that the financial year of the English State ends with April 5. It came from the English dislike of doing anything with logical completeness.

With the Gregorian Kalendar came also the adoption of January 1 for New Year's Day. Till 1752 the New Year in England had begun with Lady Day. A look at the Old Register in almost any one of our villages, at the years before and after 1752, is enough to prove this conclusively.

Awkward, no doubt, to have a year beginning inside a month, or rather to have a month running into two years! Yet the year was right, or nearly so. It was the *months* that were wrong. The Julian reformation of the Kalendar had done its work thoroughly, and did as much as could then be done. The Gregorian reform was not thorough, and scrapped what was nearly right, the year, and perpetuated what was certainly wrong, the monthly arrangements. When there *had* to be a complete upset of the general ideas, it would have been hardly more difficult to carry the thing right through, than to leave it half done. England in 1752 did but fall into line with the rest of Europe, and could do nothing else.

But there has always been a tendency in Italy to hark back to Pagan Rome. It was seen in Rienzi; it is seen in Mussolini to-day; and it was so in 1582. The Pagan spirit of the Renaissance, the artistic scepticism of Leo X., had left their mark in Italy, and this may have had a great deal to do with re-establishing January 1 as New Year's Day.

The dates of the four solar epochs in the year 1923 were March 21, June 22, September 24, December 22. They are subject to a slight variation.

Now it is evident that the old Christian Quarter Days were very much nearer to the Solar Epochs than are January 1, April 1 July 1, and October 1. They *may* have been an attempt, and for what we call the Dark Ages an exceedingly good attempt to regulate the four quarters of the year in accordance with the four Solar Epochs.

A great opportunity was lost when Gregory XIII. did *not* adjust his months to the Solar Kalendar. That harking back to Pagan Rome meant the survival of the unfittest!

Yet the ideal civil Kalendar, suitable to the whole civilized world, Christian and non-Christian, is bound to work from the summer and winter Solstices, and not from dates ten days too late. It *will* come in due time, unless our whole modern civilization perishes, as did those of the former ages.

I said that England was the last of the Western European nations to adopt the Gregorian Kalendar. Yet in Italy itself one city stood out even longer. Venice stoutly maintained the Julian Kalendar—old style—till 1797; influenced, of course, by its intercourse with the Eastern Mediterranean.

For the Orthodox Eastern Church, fallen from the high political estate it had held in 1054—the year of the Great Schism; prostrate under the Turk ever since 1453, still held tenaciously to its ancient rules. In the days of her distress the attitude of Rome had been that of a cruel stepmother, and the old disputes were more embittered

that year. The Greeks regard the illumination of the Italian more evil than that of the Turk, and to take part for many generations in such. No great wonder that the Eastern Church would not be moved as fast as the Gregorian corrections, and would in no hurry to [illegible] the Julian year in 1700, earlier here writing in the 19th century, earlier writing in the 18th century, so that when I travel in Greece [illegible] we were amusing Englishmen in the fact that the Greeks kept Christmas all the autumn had to be brought down. Since then the error has been increased there.

In 1918 Russia did not exist. But during the 19th century she became the overwhelmingly predominant member of the Eastern Church. The quick witted Greeks might have acknowledged the Julian year, perceiving that that was a purely astronomical question, but to the Russians it was all [illegible] but the Russians were not willing to change. The time would, perhaps, have affected the change in 1900, but that great opportunity was lost.

Now in the case of uniting calendars for all the nationalities of the Orthodox Church, the question has never been raised in real earnest. Servians, Bulgarians, Roumanians and Armenians made haste to adopt, each by its own State action, several months ago, to adopt New Style for civil purposes.

A Pan-Orthodox Congress at Constantinople in May last officially accepted New Style in detail in the Church, subject to agreements in the several countries, and the matter was to have taken effect in October.

The issue in Egypt and in Syria were to be influenced by the same. We should have therefore together and all the other lands [illegible] that we have in common Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the Feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, and how we shall treat of S. Mary Magdalene and the Transfiguration. These are matters of considerable importance.

But what of the movable Feasts? East and West have all along had the same rule to determine the Paschal Moon. But our own Paschal Moon came on any date prior to April 5 in the 16th century, or to April 7 in this, it was not the Moon at all for the Syrian.

This means that the Eastern has to wait for the west full moon, and so our Easter has to be over-weeks ahead, and it might even be five. Thus in 1901 East and West were keeping Easter together on April 1. But in 1902 our Paschal Moon came in March, so our Easter was on March 30, and that of the Greeks on April 27.

But when once the Eastern Church has adopted New Style our Paschal Moon will always be the same.

It is no wonder that people have arrived at the conclusion that our Easter also will always be the same, and that therefore there will be a higher probability than a Conventional method on this point, that we are content to agree to a fixed Easter.

But here is a great mistake. Though the Eastern Rule for determining the Paschal Moon is the same as the Western, there are many Easter Days as different as any imaginable particular ones even.

They have now and always our rule, a special connection that the Christian Passover must not coincide with that of the Jews. When it would do so, Easter Sunday must be put a week later. And this was instituted, not on the first time, by no less authority than that of the First Ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea in 325.

So it happened in 1899, our Easter April 23, theirs, April 16. So again in 1902, ours on April 6, theirs on April 13.

The Julian rule prescribed in 16th for the Eastern Church, covering 68 years, [illegible] allows our Eastern falling together in 11 times, and in 11 times differing by one week. Had New Style been adopted in 1899, our Easters would have fallen together in 11 times in that period, and in 11 times would have been one week apart. But if we had then adopted April 5 as the following Sunday for a Fixed Easter, then our Easters would have coincided only 4 times in those 68 years.

This is not a question for the Astronomer at all, but for the historian and the ecclesiastic.

Is then the Eastern Church *likely* to alter its ancient historical rule for determining Easter Day?

That Pan-Orthodox Congress at Constantinople had before it many questions of Reform, some very *sweeping*. The acceptance of the Gregorian Kalendar was a foregone conclusion, and was carried through, though only *as a recommendation*, at once. But on the others, the historical, the ecclesiastical, questions there was, there *had* to be, deliberation. Everything had to be referred back to the Church authorities of the several countries. It may take years, it *ought* to take years, to come to conclusions which will command unanimous acceptance. We English, in peace and safety at home, have already spent 17 years in seeking for some Prayer-Book Revision which shall command general assent, and that for English-speaking people only.

How much more must the Eastern Church, under terrors of massacre, of relentless persecution, almost of annihilation, require time over any measure which will affect so many *races*!

It will be remembered how, at the instigation of the Turkish authorities, a mob of the vilest scum of the rabble of Constantinople broke into the seat of the Patriarchate, the Phanar, and attempted to carry off the Patriarch Meletios. How Meletios managed to telephone to the English authorities, who sent help just in time to prevent his abduction, either by the mob, or by a bland Turkish official who had a motor in readiness to convey him—whither?

How that was the end of the Congress: how Meletios was no longer safe in Constantinople: how thankful we were to hear later that he had arrived safely at Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain, at once the Sanctuary and the Citadel of the Orthodox Church.

Yet even *at* the Congress some dissentient voices were raised, especially from Palestine, where the rivalry, hostility indeed, between West and East, Latin and Greek, has always been most acute.

In 1922 there was a Meeting at Rome of the International Astronomical Union, to consider the Ideal Kalendar of the future, which has already been mentioned. In August, 1923, there was sitting at Geneva a Conference in connection with the League of Nations, also considering Kalendar questions.

That it might be able to deal also with the *Easter* question three Representatives were sent from the Eastern, the Latin, and the Anglican Churches. These were Professor Eginitis, Director of the Observatory at Athens, an Astronomer; Father Grandi-anceschi, of the Vatican; and the Rev. Theodore Phillips, Rector of Headley, Surrey, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Phillips is also an eminent astronomer.

Astronomically, therefore, they were very strong, but historical investigation hardly came within their province: and they were content to go slowly. Their discussion was of an explorative nature, to find out what was possible or desirable.

They had before them a proposal for a Kalendar Reform which "should place January 1 on the day now actually occupied by December 22," *i.e.*, make the year begin with the winter solstice, as Julius Cæsar possibly, and Gregory XIII. certainly, might have done.

Of this Ideal Kalendar no more need now be said.

But how is the proposal for fixed Easter likely to be received in the East? The change from Old Style to New, if presented quite by itself, might have had some chance. *If* once adopted, and if the precise date for the change were sensibly chosen, making the jump, say, in October, as Gregory XIII. did in 1582, so that people should have got used to the change well before Christmas, then in a very little time the multitude would have forgotten that there had been a change! Christmas Day would still be called December 25.

Then one first step to a highly desirable accord between East and West would

have been taken. *Then* the way would have been paved for the ideal civil Kalendar.

But remembering our own past, how it took us 170 years to become reconciled to that same change, *we* ought to be the *last* to complain if the oriental Christians do not at once open their mouths to swallow a somewhat unintelligible pill.

And if the one really desirable alteration is saddled with the odium of a violent change in the historical and ecclesiastical province, in a matter that has nothing to do with astronomy, what can be expected to come of it? From within the Anglican and Roman Communions a very strong opposition to a Fixed Easter may be looked for. The Eastern Church is even less likely to approve it.

The much-hoped-for and simple change from Old Style to New has not yet been accepted *in fact* by any portion of the Orthodox Church. Too much is being attempted at once. The desirable reform will be prejudiced by being identified with a Fixed Easter.

The Anglo-Orthodox Entente will be endangered. Who but ourselves will be accused of having set this dangerous ball rolling? Till now the Easterns have understood that we have inherited from the Latins the rule that allows Christians to keep Passover simultaneously with Jews, and they have not held us responsible for it. And as to "Old" and "New" Style, they have been perfectly aware that "New" was right; so there again they had no complaint against us.

But if they have to charge us, and that justly, with being the prime movers in a gratuitous disturbance of the ancient system, and that for reasons of quite secondary and wholly mundane character, they may rightly hold us responsible; and so, for the first time, a difference *of our own making* will have arisen between them and ourselves.

Those who most reverence Good Friday and Easter look upon the Jewish and Christian Passovers as parts of one Divinely ordered scheme, whereby the true significance of the former, though veiled from the Jews through all the centuries up to the fulfilment in Christ, became manifest in the latter, not by a series of chance coincidences, but as so designed from the beginning in the counsel of God.

No opinion has been expressed in these pages for or against that Latin rule which allows the Jewish and Christian Passovers to be kept simultaneously. The Orthodox rule, while distinguishing the one from the other, at all events maintains their connection. A Fixed Easter would go far to destroy it.

Another mischief even worse may follow. In the Eastern Church there has always been a small pro-Roman wing, and it has never been too scrupulous. In the days of our Charles I. it intrigued against the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, because of his negotiations with Archbishop Laud, and persuaded the Sultan Amurath IV. to order his execution. It is always ready to denounce any overtures to the Anglican Church as necessarily involving the negations of Calvinism; and there is always a large body of sincere and scrupulously Orthodox believers who are ready to take alarm, and really not without some reason.

Among the Romans not all are like the noble Cardinal Mercier, whose generosity to Orthodox students was recorded in the CHRISTIAN EAST for November. But we have no right to complain if other Romans do all they can to prevent any concordat between the Easterns and ourselves. To such a Fixed Easter will be a veritable Trump Card, which they will know but too well how to play.

A "Fixed Easter" will do nothing to forward, but may do much to hinder the Reunion of Christendom.

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

By the Rev. Canon E. F. Brown of the Oxford University Mission.

IT is rather a sad reflection that Christianity in India dates, if not from the time of the Apostles, at any rate from the third century onward. A definite date is given by Eusebius who says that Pantænus went there in 189, and found traces of a previous visit from the Apostle Bartholomew. The Christians of Malabar, however, claim St. Thomas as the founder of their Church. Volumes have been written on this question, and in the absence of decisive evidence it must remain open, but he would be a brave man who would venture to express a doubt in Malabar itself. The absence of a genius for history, characteristic of the Hindu—perhaps it is due to the white ant—is shared by their Christian neighbours, and the result is that no history of this Church before the sixteenth century has been written, and if written it has not survived. Consequently we have to be satisfied with such occasional gleams of light as are now and then cast on it from external sources.

One of these gleams is of special interest for Englishmen. The Saxon Chronicle and William of Malmesbury both state that King Alfred sent an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India. Unfortunately they do not say definitely whether the embassy arrived. It is, however, of good omen that our great and large-hearted king should have wished a thousand years ago to get into touch with these Christians of the East, and the Church of England may thus claim to have a traditional friendship with that of India.

These scattered notices lead up to the fact that in the sixteenth century the Church in Malabar had an established position of its own, but that it had completely ceased to be a missionary body. This was due to the peculiarly Indian institution of Caste. The Christians had won from the Hindus recognition of their status as a high-caste Society, and wherever that claim is made it follows of necessity that no one from outside can be admitted to the body. In the first instance the claim seems to have been grudgingly admitted by the Hindus, but had they foreseen its effect in paralysing all efforts at expansion, they would have been only too eager to admit it. As one looks back upon its result it suggests an acuteness which is literally diabolic. The present writer once paid a visit to Malabar and fell one day into conversation with some fishermen—low-caste people—coming up from the sea. After talking to them for some time he asked them whether they did not wish to become Christians like their neighbours. They replied that they wished it very much, but those neighbours would never allow it.

The term "Syrian" requires explaining. The Church is entirely composed of natives of India of the Malayalam race—a race which has close affinities with the Tamils of India and the Telugus of eastern and central India. But they owe allegiance to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and their Service Order and Bible are all in Syriac—a language which their clergy have painfully to acquire in order, it would seem, to cause their services to be not understood of the people.

The conquests of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century resulted in the Church being brought under the dominion of Rome. This was formally effected at the Synod of Diamhes in 1599, but fifty-four years later, when the Portuguese power had begun to weaken, a considerable body again seceded and are henceforth known as the Jacobite Syrians. Whether they are really Jacobite in doctrine is a question which ought to be decided by experts. At any rate, they are in communion with the Armenian and Coptic Churches, which are generally looked upon as belonging to that section of the Eastern Church and about whom the same question may arise.

In the early part of the nineteenth century a very gallant attempt was made by the Church Missionary Society—then recently founded, to bring help to this small isolated body of Christians,* in the hope that the Syrians, when educated and inspired, would become the best of missionaries to their own countrymen. At first this was intended to be simply a "Mission of help," animated by the same spirit as that which in later years has influenced the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians; but, as time went on, the missionaries—all the more because they were men of the greatest energy and devotion—could not help emphasising their own Protestant principles, and the Syrians, while they gratefully accepted help in education, church-building and Scripture-translation, were not at all disposed to welcome any changes in doctrine. Consequently, after the first few years of happy co-operation misunderstandings began to grow up, and in 1836 there came a formal separation. The missionaries turned to the out-castes whom the Syrians had always neglected, and found in them a very fruitful and encouraging mission field.

A certain number of Syrians joined the Anglican Church, though this was not encouraged, and a larger number formed a separate body, with a Bishop of their own, more or less accepting Protestant opinion. These are known as the Mar Thomas Syrians, and are gaining a good reputation for missionary work.

This brings us to the present day, and before we go further it will be necessary to inflict on our readers a few statistics. Unfortunately

*The first missionary landed at Cochin in May 1816, and when we remember that Waterloo had only been fought in the previous year, we shall better appreciate the courage which could start a new mission at such a time.

the Census taken for 1921 has not yet been published, and I can only give the somewhat vague numbers gathered some years ago. But it is certain that the Christians form at least a quarter of the population of these two small States—Travancore and Cochin, and their number is nearly a million. Unhappily they are divided into four separate bodies. Firstly, there is the main body which claims to represent unchanged the ancient Church. They are sometimes known as the Orthodox Syrians; the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who is the head of their Church, lives at Mardin in Syria. These number perhaps a quarter of a million. Then there are the Romo-Syrians, the descendants of those who were brought into subjection by Rome in the sixteenth century. This is probably the most numerous body of the four. Thirdly, there is a secession from the Jacobites who have come under Protestant influences, and are known as the Mar Thomas Syrians. And lastly there is a small body which seceded from Rome in 1880 and obtained a Bishop from those Assyrian Christians to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury sent his mission. Their metropolitan, Mar Timotheus, is now paying a visit to England.

It is with the first of these four communities that we of the Oxford Mission have had most to do. In 1913 they invited us to send delegates to their students' conference and to hold a Retreat for their priests, and every year since then the invitation has been repeated and, whenever possible, accepted. In all these conferences our object has been to recall them to what seems to be their manifest destiny—that of becoming the nucleus of a genuinely Indian Church. If, casting aside the age-long tyranny of caste, they will step forward as the natural missionaries to their fellow-countrymen, it may still be given to St. Thomas to fulfil his apostolate in India.

But for the last thirteen years there has been another deadly hindrance. The Church has been divided not on any doctrinal question but on one of property. The Patriarch of Antioch, urged on by the Turkish Government of which he was a subject, made a claim to all the treasures of the church in order that he might satisfy the demands of his Mohammedan masters, and while the more educated members of the Church felt that this demand should be resisted the conservative mass of the people were willing to yield. Hence an all but interminable lawsuit, during which many of the churches have been closed because the people of the place could not agree to which party they should belong. Now at last this wretched schism is ended and a happy reunion is taking place. There is a new Patriarch who takes a large and generous view of his duties, and both parties are content to forgive and forget. Henceforth there need be nothing to prevent the Church from going forward to fulfil its missionary task, for which its leaders are determined to equip it.

ATHENS LETTER.

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF HELLAS.

POLITICAL have overshadowed ecclesiastical events in Greece in the last eighteen months. When you are conducting a revolution—which you may be conducting, on the whole, very well, but do not seem able to bring to an end—there is not much time for anybody in authority to turn his attention to "Church questions." For the moment, the "Church question" that most concerns the "man in the street" is the certainly rather bewildering position of Christmas just now. The State calendar, as may be known, has been altered to correspond with that prevailing in the West, but that of the Church has been left alone. It is not that anyone has any objection to the reform, but simply that not all the fourteen federated churches that make up the orthodox communion have been able to get the thing done and, till all have agreed, we remain *re infecta*. Wherefore, though the year of grace 1924 has now begun, the feast of Christmas, 1923, has not been celebrated yet, and it would seem that that year has to do without any (in which case, ought it to be counted as *annus Domini* at all?), while 1924 will, to all appearance, have two. Somewhere about January 8th, 1924, the Christmas of 1923 will be coming on, and the confusion about that great festival, always great enough for the Westerner who is not accustomed to deal with three Christmas days (Western, Orthodox and Armenian) will this year be worse confounded than ever!

Let us hope, however, that it will be for the last time. There is now (and let us be thankful for the fact) a Patriarch in Constantinople duly elected and enthroned, for the self-sacrifice of a great Bishop and the "patience of the saints" exemplified in a martyr church seem to have prevailed over intrigues that one may fairly describe as diabolical, and there ought now to be no difficulty in the accomplishment of what is a mere piece of routine ecclesiastical business, though one which has to be duly and formally done.

Meantime, the Church in Hellas, too, is showing an interesting development, and one that may be of great importance to her in time to come. A reform analogous to that effected by the "Life and Liberty Movement" in England has come to pass here.

Hitherto, by a law dating from 1830, and therefore from the early days of the organisation of the kingdom of Greece, the government of the Church has been vested in a small body known as the "Sacred" or sometimes the "Sojourning" Synod.

This body was not, to speak correctly, a "synod" at all. It was a small committee of Bishops, five to eight in number, of which the Metropolitan of Athens was president, and in which he was expected to act.

The Bishops who composed the body being nominated by the Government, and removable from it—though not, of course, from their episcopal rank at pleasure,—were seldom inclined to do anything more than the mere routine work of the Church; while Parliament and the Government of the land, though benevolent enough (for Dissent in Greece is a negligible quantity, and the Political Dissenter is, perhaps, the only ill that has been spared the land) had neither time nor capacity to take up Church questions. In this, as we in England know, they are at least not exceptional.

Thus the Church of Hellas began to find herself, like the Anglican Church, in great need of a conservative reform, and yet with no machinery at hand for undertaking it. No ancient abuse that was represented by any vested interest, lacked power to call up enough conservative inertia to prevent any improvement, or to block any proposal of reform.

Now at last the Government has decided to allow the Church the power and opportunity of doing for itself what all see ought to be done, but which an over-

ATHENS LETTER

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The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE REV. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Ph.D., AND THE REV. A. M. FRENCH, M.A.

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1921. April. "The Locum Tenens of Constantinople." "The Church in Cyprus." Porphyrion.

1921. July. "The Election of an Œcumenical Patriarch." [illegible] "Intercommunion with the Orthodox Church." Bishop Headlam. "Reunion." Dr. Leighton Pullan.

1921. September. "Anglican Ordinations." P. Comnenos. "Summary of the Official Report on the Dissensions in Jerusalem." "Hymns of the Greek Church," Woodward, and in next three numbers.

1921. December. "A Visit to Serbia." H. J. Fynes-Clinton. "The Czecho-Slovak Church." Ep. Gorazd. "Relations with Mar Ignatius." (Nos. March and July).

1922. March. "Report of the Delegation to the Lambeth Conference, 1920." "Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism." Glubokovsky.

1922. July. "The E.C.U. Declaration and Translations." "[illegible] the Bolsheviks." Glubokovsky. "Georgia." Dedesilaisen.

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1923. November. "Pan-Orthodox Conference." J. A. Douglas. "[illegible] and Orthodox East," N. Glubokovsky. "Œcumenical Patriarchate." J. A. Douglas.

1924. February. "Bishop Bury in Moscow." "Papal Rome." [illegible] "Orthodox Church and Papacy." Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

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[illegible] Athens.

[illegible] The Patriarchate, Alexandria.

[illegible] The Patriarchate, Alexandria.

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The Moslem World. [illegible]

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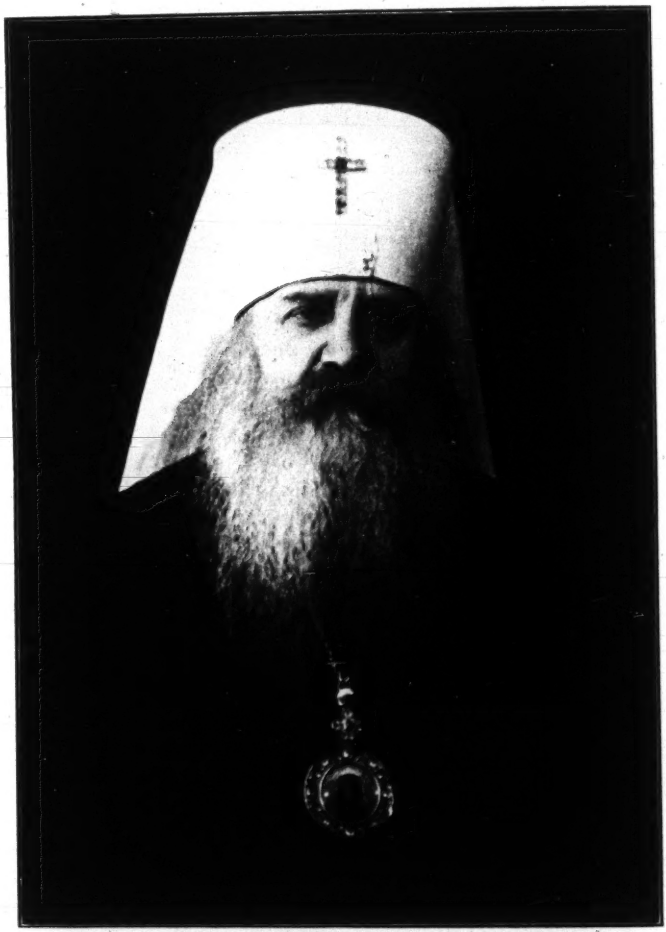

Ἀντώνιος Μητροπολίτης τῶν Κιεβ
καὶ πάσης Γαλικίας.
1923

THE METROPOLITAN ANTHONY OF KIEV.

"My life's goal is attained. We have a Patriarch. Now I can die in peace."—Extract from a letter, dated October, 1917, to Bishop Metrophany, from the Metropolitan Anthony.